

# The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos*.

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## News of the Week.

SEVERAL Government measures of the highest importance have been in various ways announced this week—Lord John Russell's plan of providing public education; Mr. Gladstone's plan of converting a portion of the public debt into negotiable securities; and Mr. Bethell's prospective plan for abolishing the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court in matters of Wills. Of these the education plan is, perhaps, the one which possesses the most importance in the mind of its author, but it has fallen flat upon the public, as it did upon the House when he delivered it. It goes indeed very little way to fulfil the large promise which preceded it. The speech in which he explained it consisted of various sections, bearing indeed, not upon one, but a collection of measures. The plan of popular education consists mainly in the enactment to authorize the levying of a borough-rate, on agreement of two-thirds of the Town Council; the proceeds to be distributed amongst existing schools; such as those under the National and British and Foreign Society, or similar establishments. Lord John holds it impossible to separate religious from secular instruction, and equally impossible to devise a combined plan of religious instruction, so that he substitutes aid to the voluntary and educational efforts of sects, for any real plan of public instruction. The second of the measures consists of one to place the charitable educational institutions on a footing of better administration, with a cheap and speedy means of securing a due performance of the duties annexed to the endowments; probably, also, with alteration of the conditions where time has rendered the intentions of the donor obsolete. The Museum and Department of Practical Art also received some notice, as a part of the general educational scheme. And finally, he announced that if the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge should not take advantage of the facilities afforded to them by Ministers and the Legislature, to reform themselves, Government would take the task in hand, and reform them in spite of themselves. The scheme, as a whole, has merits; but upon close examination, it resolves itself into a plan for coaxing and tinkering very unsatisfactory institutions, with something more "looming in the future." The flatness perceptible in the House of Commons while Lord John was speaking, marked his attempt as a failure. Either he has advanced in years beyond the energy for the post, or the age has got beyond him.

A significant criticism on the measure is conveyed in the fact that Lord John's announcement respecting the Universities is exactly what was expected in Oxford. Lord John must consider Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone must consider the Puseyites. While there is much disposition in Oxford, even amongst the most Liberal, to reciprocate consideration of Ministers, the Reform influence is growing apace. It is true that the Reforms of the Tutors' Association must be subdued by the exigencies of that unappreciable wisdom which Mr. Gladstone calls "the authoritative teaching of the Church of England," and which, unhappily, is not susceptible of much freedom or activity of thought. Nevertheless, the heroes of the Tutors' Association are tumbling over each other in their eagerness for Reform. And even within that ancient domain of Oxford a spirit is awakened eager for the progress of religious and social opinion.

Mr. Gladstone's scheme is much more fitted to the immediate want of the day, and although less magnificent in its first appearance, promises to be more fruitful in tangible results. His plan is a kind of preface to the Budget, which he is to bring forward on the 18th instant. He prepares the way, however, by improving the condition of the public funds. The plan involves the extinction of 10,000,000*l.* of South Sea and other smaller stock, and the creation of three new securities instead—a Three-and-a-half per Cent., with a diminished nominal capital; a Two-and-a-half per Cent., with an increased nominal capital, and a new species of Exchequer bonds, payable to bearer like Exchequer bills, but irredeemable for forty years, at a fixed interest of Two-and-a-half per Cent. The holders of the stock in question will be compelled to surrender by January or April next, and will have their choice of the three new stocks. The last stock, however, is to be rendered available for other purposes. Instead of 10,000,000*l.* only, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is authorized to create 30,000,000*l.* of this new security, and to employ it in conversion of the stocks we have named, of the Three per Cent. Consols, the Three per Cent Reduced, or Exchequer bills. The practical effect is, to substitute for Exchequer bills security more permanent in its incidents and character, and to render a large portion of the public stock easily negotiable, and therefore available for current purposes of finance.

The steady condition of the revenue—for such is the general effect shown by the revenue tables just issued; the continuing prosperity of our manufacturing and mining commerce; the con-

stantly improving condition of the working classes; all tend to increase the confidence of the commercial world.

Mr. Oliveira brought the subject of the Wine duties under the notice of the House of Commons, and made out an excellent case for their repeal, *except* upon the ground advanced by Mr. Gladstone, namely, that he cannot spare the amount of the revenue involved, and that he cannot surrender his functions, especially on the eve of measures so important as he has now on hand, for private Members. Mr. Oliveira withdrew his proposition for a committee of the whole House to consider the Wine duties.

Mr. Bethell's sweep of the Ecclesiastical Courts is not of such direct public importance, but yet it bears upon a very numerous class. Indeed, all who are interested in the making of Wills, or the examination of Registers, may be glad to understand that the whole business of Wills, Probates, &c., is to be transferred to the Court of Chancery, with the County Courts for its provincial auxiliaries. That the peculiars, the registrars, the sinecures, and other medieval monsters of the old system, are to be annihilated. The measure, indeed, has not yet been brought forward; on the contrary, the knowledge of it came out when Mr. Hadfield moved the second reading of his bill to redress some abuses in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and then Mr. Bethell stated how the whole matter stood. A committee is investigating those courts, and he waits the report of that committee; but, should it not report, or should the report not be satisfactory, then the Government is prepared to press Mr. Bethell's comprehensive measure.

The regulation of railways stands on somewhat the same footing. Mr. Humphrey Brown moved a resolution, pledging the House to bring railways under more complete control, in order to better administration and the prevention of accidents; but Mr. Cardwell objected, that a committee is enquiring into the subject, and he waited that report—only, unlike Mr. Borthell, he has no scheme

Lord Campbell's announcement, that the Peace deputation to the Tuilleries, although not open to indictment, is discordant with the principle of public law; accompanied by Lord Ellenborough's emphatic expression of disgust, and Lord Malmesbury's characteristic personal testimony that "it had given great satisfaction in Paris," crowns the general reprobation which an impertinence so preposterous has undergone. One of the most prominent members of the deputation, Mr. John Masterman, Junior, appears as a Director of the Bordeaux and Lyons Rail-

way Company, to which the Emperor has just granted a concession. The semi-official *Pays* relates, that the deputation thanked his Majesty for his great services in the cause of order; so that, in the eyes of certain self-elected representatives of the City of London, and of the people of England, the sacred name of Peace means cosmopolitan jobbing, and Order—the benefit law that rules the Universe—means decimation by the gibbet and the musket, silence, proscription, military terrorism: the “order,” in a word, of spies and bayonets. But this knot of schemers, let us cheerfully record, is indignantly repudiated, on all hands, at home, as it is, we know, contemned abroad, even where the liberty of France, and the dignity of England, are least in honour. Its true character is well understood in England.

It would be well if all public subjects were as well understood; but, in this respect, the meeting at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to consider the actual position of Turkey, is an example too little paralleled. The vigorous and influential expression of opinion by Mr. George Crawshay, the telling assurances of Mr. Blackett, the whole conduct of the meeting, showed, that when the public is fairly appealed to, it is able to understand even the most complex questions of international relations; but the public is not appealed to, and it will not move until it is invited.

Englishmen seem to be losing one of their best characteristics—a foreseeing preparedness. It seems a settled thing that in all matters connected with shipwrecks nothing should be ready; that at sea boats should be lumbered up, perfectly in order as boats hung up to complete a ship's fittings, but when wanted utterly useless, without capabilities for lowering, or floating when lowered, or being rowed when floated. On shore the most approved apparatus for saving life from shipwrecks is obtained and locked up carefully; but at this stage somebody walks off with the key, and is not to be found in time of danger. When the door is broken down and the apparatus produced, it is found that the rockets for sending lines over the sea are without powder; when powder is obtained nobody knows how to fire it. Such things occurred lately in the cases of the *Duke of Sutherland* and the *Minerva*. Apply the moral. If we are without preparation for disasters which must sometimes be expected, how, in greater matters, national defence for example, shall we know that we are thoroughly prepared?

Undoubtedly every new addition to the Royal Family now in Buckingham Palace, adds a new defence to the succession and the throne. Nevertheless, the royal infant who has just taken his place in the nursery, but has not yet been provided with a name, would contribute very little to the national forces in the case of a present invasion. On the contrary, he is a new pledge, as they say, which all loyal subjects are bound to guard—a hostage to fortune, but never, we hope, to the invader.

#### THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

MONDAY brought with it the resumption of Parliamentary duties; and the first night of the renewed sittings of the House of Commons was marked by the statement of the Government views on

#### NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Lord John Russell, although holding no office, except that of Leader of the House of Commons, was the spokesman. Tracing the history of the question from the time of Bell and Lancaster, he adverted to the difference between, and to the defects of, their systems, and to the objections raised by the Church, which resulted in the foundation of the National Society, in 1811. He also referred to the efforts of the Dissenters, and to their school society, and to the proposal made in 1831 by Lord Grey's Government for public grants to the two societies in proportion to their activity. This plan was adopted till 1839, when Lord Melbourne's Government thought that a more discriminating plan ought to be pursued, and a narrow majority sanctioned the appointment of the Committee of Council—further modifications having been made in 1846. He observed that, though much attention had been given to the quantity and quality of the educa-

tion of the poorer classes, the State had not materially interfered as to its character and nature. After adding a great number of educational statistics to show the present condition of things, and stating that at present there were 2,108,473 scholars receiving instruction, and that half a million sterling had been paid by the humbler classes in “school pence,” he argued that the result of the efforts that had been made had been striking and satisfactory. It was considered, therefore, that it should be sought to strengthen and improve a system which had originated in voluntary effort, rather than to attempt to set up a plan which might disturb the existing system without providing an equivalent. But he thought that the present system was capable of much improvement. He then explained the nature of the training schools, to which he gave much approbation. His lordship next proceeded to say, that he could never subscribe to the doctrine that the State's duty was non-interference as regarded the religious and moral training of the people. Nor did it appear to him that the country coincided in the views of those who maintained the voluntary system.

Having disposed of voluntarism, let us see how he set aside the claims of the advocates of secular schools:

“What I understand to be said is this:—the country is divided into various religious communions, differing greatly from one another; it is impossible by any scheme that has been hitherto suggested to bring the children of persons of those different denominations into one school, and to accept of religious instruction; but it is very possible to give them secular instruction—to give them instruction in reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic, and in science and art—and to leave their religious instruction to the ministers and pastors of their different communions; thereby avoiding the discord, difficulty, and expense which are created by having so many different schools, and by not treating religion as a thing apart from the schools. Now, if that were the proposal, there seem to be difficulties in themselves sufficient to prevent the adoption of such a system. We must consider, surely, when we are assisting in the education of the people, and especially in the education of the children of the poor in this country, that the school is the place where they are to learn the rules for their conduct in life—those rules of religion and morality by which in future they are to be guided. It is obvious, if this were the case, that a very incomplete religious instruction would be given, if you said that on but two afternoons in the week the children should go to schools conducted by ministers of religion, and that they should attend their own places of worship on Sundays. In the first place, it is obvious that it would be difficult for clergymen of the Established Church, and the ministers of any other communion, to give time and labour sufficient to instruct the children in religion. In the next place, supposing they did so, a great and important end of education would not be attained, because on the most important subject, I should say of all, they would not receive sufficient instruction. Well, then, those who are the advocates of the secular system of instruction are liable to that difficulty; and it appears to me, while no doubt many of them differ among themselves, that the most able among them take a mode of obviating that difficulty which deserves the serious consideration of this House before asking if anything of the kind can be adopted. This scheme is developed by many writers on the subject, and among others by Mr. Combe, a gentleman no doubt whose opinions are of considerable weight, who have held that very imperfect views are taken with regard to religious subjects, and that very often those rules which the Almighty has laid down for our conduct in this life, so far from being followed, are wilfully violated and set at nought, and that it is the business of the schoolmaster to teach those laws of social economy and those laws of physiology by which the youth of this kingdom may be better instructed, and may so conduct themselves as to avoid that course of vice and misery into which too many of them fall. But I think it will be obvious to the House that this is a proposal differing from the plan apparently proposed by the advocates of the secular system. The proposition as it stood nakedly, on its first appearance, was this: Give secular instruction to the school, confine yourselves to that instruction, and leave religion to be taught by the ministers of the different religious denominations. But on this second view of the subject, it is said there is a natural theology which should be taught in the schools, but that Christianity should not be taught. Now, that appears to be a view not only more extensive, but rather more dangerous than that which was first suggested. My belief is, that the people of this country have acted with a right instinct when they have, by their exertions, by their associations, and by the devotion of their money and the time of their children, declared openly that there should be a system of religious training in the schools, and that that religious training should comprise all the great doctrines of Christianity.” (Cheers.)

After advertizing to the difficulties in the way of establishing a general scheme, he intimated that he thought there might be one sort of community in towns with a corporate organization, where rates might be devoted, under votes of two-thirds of the town-council, in aid of the voluntary exertions of individuals, and of the pence paid by parents, under stringent conditions, and this was one part of the plan. It was also proposed by the Committee of Council, by minutes, the form of which was not yet matured, to allot a certain sum per head for each scholar, when the schoolmaster had obtained his certificate; and it was also thought that additional grants might be made to very poor places. He next came to the question of chari-

table bequests, and to the labours of Lord Brougham, and of the commission on the subject. These bequests, it was thought, should be subjected to distinct superintendence, whilst the judicial power should be in other hands than those which should regulate the administration. The latter should be entrusted to a Committee of Privy Council, with the Lord President at its head, which should have general power to propose schemes to vary trusts—such schemes, where accepted by the trustees, to take effect at once, and where not, a bill to carry them out should be introduced into that House. There were cases, as where leases and other articles were bequeathed for distribution, in which positive evil was done to localities, and it would be far better to apply such funds to the improvement of education. As regarded the judicial power, where an income was under 30*l.* the question would go to the County Court, and where it exceeded that sum, to the Master of the Rolls, or a Vice-Chancellor. After explaining that the sum to be asked for the purposes of education would appear in the votes, and so be submitted for discussion, he next adverted to the recommendation in the Speech from the Throne for the promotion of science and art; and, explaining that it was intended to consolidate a department of art for the establishment of museums, he said, in reference to the question before the House, that drawings and models were to be furnished by such museums to public schools in the country.

He next treated the question of University Reform—the most important portion of his speech—and we give it entire.

“I said that I would state upon this occasion what were the general views of her Majesty's Government with respect to the reports of the commissions which were appointed by the Crown on the subject of the two Universities. The House is well aware that these commissions have presented reports of a most valuable kind, setting forth in great detail the history of those Universities, giving a great deal of evidence of a most instructive and valuable nature, and themselves suggesting various reforms in the Universities. I will not state any particular scheme which it is the intention of the Government to adopt. On the contrary, her Majesty's Government are of opinion that they would not fulfil their duty in the best manner if they proposed any particular scheme for the adoption of the House until the matter had been much more maturely considered, and until the Universities had had the opportunity of giving their suggestions and their observations, and adopting such measures as they may think it desirable to adopt on the subject of the changes suggested. Speaking, however, of the University of Oxford, there are in the first place some points upon which the commissioners have touched, with respect to which I think it is but fair that I should state what are the views of her Majesty's Government. The first subject with reference to Oxford, and which is of the highest importance, is the constitution of the government of the University itself. (Hear, hear.) We are of opinion that very considerable change is required in the constitution of that University. We think it desirable that there should exist a greater power of introducing into the governing body of the University persons who, in the station of professors, are engaged in teaching in the University, and into the several colleges those who are engaged in teaching in those colleges. What should be the particular form of that governing body is a matter upon which, as I have intimated, we are not yet prepared to decide. What we say is, that it is a subject to which we shall look, to which our attention will be directed, and upon which we shall be ready to receive any suggestion which may come from the University itself. But if these suggestions either do not come, or if they should fail to meet what we think the circumstances of the case require, it will then be necessary to come to Parliament and submit to it proposals of our own on the subject. There is another matter upon which our opinion is no less decided with respect to the principle, and that is, a more full and free admission to the teaching of the University. My belief is that these Universities were intended, and ought to be treated, as institutions for the benefit of the country, and that their objects ought to be fulfilled more completely than they have been of late years. For this purpose I believe it will be necessary that there should be a power of admission, and of attending the teaching of the University, and of acquiring those privileges by means other than those of belonging to, or residing in, colleges. Whether the recommendations of the commission on the University of Oxford, or the different recommendations of the commission on the University of Cambridge, should be taken on the subject, I will not now pretend to decide. Any change which shall effect the object, and effect it without endangering the discipline of the University—because that point must be kept carefully in mind—will be favourably considered by us, and will be one which we shall be ready to adopt. Another subject in connexion with the present state of the University of Oxford is the amount of restriction which is placed upon the attainment of fellowships and emoluments in the University. Many of these restrictions, it is true, claim for their origin the statutes of the University, or the wills of the founders, but we have to consider that if these statutes and these wills were to be literally obeyed, we should have, not the present state of the Universities, but a state very much different, and one which it would be impossible to maintain. I will not upon this point express any opinion as to the recommendations of the commissioners—whether all restrictions as to place of birth, or the country to which the persons belong, should be abolished, or whether persons belonging to that locality, *ceteris paribus*, should have the advantage—all I say is that merit, industry, study, and ability, ought to have their due reward. I may say, fur-

ther, in respect to another topic of great importance, that a greater part of the incomes and revenues of the colleges should be devoted to purposes of instruction, such as to giving additional incomes to professors, or applied in other modes most conducive to giving instruction in the Universities. No doubt, we must keep in mind on this subject, as in other trusts, the purposes for which they were created. At the same time, I do not think it is possible to lose sight of the times in which many of those foundations were made, and the views entertained by those who founded them—views which were entertained naturally and properly according to the belief of the times, and, perhaps, according to the circumstances of the times, but which no longer apply to the present period. For instance, it was thought at one time that it was most desirable that a number of studious men, perhaps of the ecclesiastical profession, should devote their time to study and to prayer, and that they should remain in seclusion from the rest of the world. Far be it from me to state that those who devoted their means and their estate to that purpose took a mistaken view of the benefits which might thereby be obtained! I believe that at a time when no man's house was safe, when armed knights were frequenting lanes and valleys to save the peace of the country, and there was no security for life or property, the sacred character given to these institutions enabled the men thus secluded to preserve the works of learning; it enabled them to preserve those great classical works which at the time of the revival of letters were found in the monasteries and convents, and which amid the din of arms, and amid a state of ignorance, which might have led to barbarism, yet kept alive that sacred flame from which we have derived our civilization. Far be it from me, therefore, to say that they were short-sighted, and still less to say they were not benevolent. But the circumstances of the present day are utterly altered in that respect; and those same men who, animated by the love of knowledge, made those foundations, would probably, if they lived in these times, be the first to say that instruction of another kind ought to be given. There is another view, likewise, which they might have entertained with regard to the localities to which they confined their endowments. It might very well be that a man of property, seeing that his country was in a state of ignorance, and entirely deprived of the light of letters and science, might have thought that if he founded in the University of Oxford, or in the University of Cambridge, a fellowship devoted to the inhabitants of that county, it would turn their minds to the acquisition of knowledge, and thereby he might increase the general cultivation, and so civilize the county. I do not say that was not a wise view; but what I say is, that with our present means of communication, and with the present circulation of knowledge through the country, a reservation which might be wise at the commencement, would be exceedingly unwise at the present moment. These, then, are four of the objects which we shall endeavour to keep in view with regard to the University of Oxford:—First, the improvement of the governing power or body; another, a larger admission of students without belonging to a particular college; third, the removal or modification of the restrictions which now exist in regard to the attainment of the rewards and honours of the University to a particular county or locality; and fourth, the application of some part of the endowments and property of the colleges to the purpose of instruction in the University, which are now not given for any purposes of instruction whatever. Another object which, I think, we should have in view is, that when fellowships are attained by students, the distinction should not be held for life, but only for a certain period. Thus we shall have a constant stimulus to, and a constant system of promotion. Sir, I will not go into the recommendations that have been made by the commissioners appointed for the University of Cambridge. They recommend, in a similar spirit, that those restrictions which I have mentioned should no longer exist; but they state that the University itself is continually, from time to time, adapting its institutions to the present state of knowledge and the present state of the country, and they expect that further improvements will still be made in the same direction. They say that they think it would be a great misfortune if the University of Cambridge should in any respect fall short of that which is required from it by the most enlightened view of the public interests, and the greatest advantage of the people of this country. At the same time, with a natural pride in the University to which they belong, they say they are happy to think such has been the case, and they further think that it will continue to be the case hereafter; at the same time they state their firm belief that the interposition of Parliament will be required in order to enable the University of Cambridge to make all these reforms and improvements which, in their opinion, ought to be made. Now, sir, may I venture to say that the persons whom I had the honour of advising the Crown to appoint to the commissions of Oxford and Cambridge were men of very great distinction; they were men who themselves had attended those Universities—men who had attained to the greatest honours, some of them in science, and others in classical learning; and that they approached the subject with that reverence for those great institutions which such men were sure to feel? When, therefore, such men as these advise such extensive alterations, and accompany them with such observations, I think it is the part of Parliament, without reserve, and waving every objection, to consider their different proposals, and to legislate for the improvement of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. I trust I have made it clear to the House that we do not propose at the present time, or without giving full mmoa to the Universities of considering all that we ought to do, to introduce any bill to Parliament on these subjects. At the same time we shall keep in view these objects, which we think essential. If the Universities adopt them, and carry them into effect as far as they can, and apply to Parliament for powers to carry them out still further, we shall be happy to see them arrive at that consummation; but if they should not do so,

if there should be persons who are still deterred by their prejudices from making any, even the most useful alterations, it will then be our duty, as the Government, not to hesitate, but to bring in such measures as we may think absolutely necessary."

He kindled into prophetic eloquence in his peroration.

"I feel that, with regard to these great and most important subjects, that that will happen which we have seen happen in the material world and in physical science. We have seen that which beggars have passed unnoticed, and which was disregarded, converted into the means of giving brilliant light in our streets and our houses. We have seen those powers of nature which were usually considered noxious and destructive employed to carry to distant regions in a few minutes intelligence which a century ago would require weeks, and even months, to convey. We have seen other wonders of physical science and physical study astonish, almost every year, the generations in which we have lived. I feel persuaded that whatever may be the state of society in this country at present, that there is a power at work which will draw up from the dregs and the destructive part of that society the means of establishing religion and morality upon a still firmer basis, and which will make religion and morality the crown of our social institutions. I feel, then, that this is even a still nobler task, that it is even a still greater achievement than those wonders which the acquisitions of science have enabled us to effect. Imploring, then, this House to pay the utmost attention to all the subjects, to take no word of mine as sufficient for the measures that we have to propose; but begging them to keep in view these great objects upon which the future happiness and welfare of this country must depend, I shall conclude by asking for leave to bring in a bill to improve and extend the education of the people in England and Wales. (Cheers.)"

The debate which followed was important, more as showing the tone of the House, than for what was said. First came Mr. EWART, approving of the plan, though not all required. Then Mr. HUME and Mr. GIBSON, on behalf of secular education; and contending for a "division of labour" in education, by a separation of the work of the clergyman from that of the schoolmaster. Mr. W. J. FOX at once seized the salient and improvable part of the plan, the recognition of the principle of an education rate. Sir ROBERT INGLIS, of course, was full of unqualified opposition. Mr. PHINN proposed the compulsory education of the poor; and Mr. BLACKETT made an attack on the Universities. He thought giving them time was bad; that they would emasculate every proposal for reform; that time enough had been given; and he instanced the way in which they had treated the Commission—throwing every obstruction in its way—as a proof of insincerity. Mr. GLADSTONE replied, making counter allegations, characterizing Mr. Blackett's speech as one to stop reform.

This closed proceedings; and leave was given to bring in the bill. Incidentally it came out that the minute of June, 1852, transferring certain powers over the national schoolmasters from the laymen to the clergymen, and which was really one of the Derby-Disraeli election dodges, would be cancelled.

#### REFORM OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

But the Solicitor-General, Mr. Bethell, has outshone Lord John, and has done far more service in announcing the Government measure with respect to the ecclesiastical courts than the great unattached Leader of the House of Commons. The occasion was afforded by the motion for the second reading of an insufficient bill on the probate of wills brought in by Mr. Hadfield. The second reading having been moved, Mr. BETHELL delivered the following speech:—

Before the second reading of the bill he thought that the House should have a very clear understanding with regard to the ground upon which it was proposed that it should be read a second time. The object of the bill was one of the importance of which could scarcely be exaggerated. The whole subject had been recently brought before the attention of the House, and upon that occasion he had stated that he should feel it his duty, if the report of the commissioners now sitting to inquire into the subject of testamentary jurisdiction were not presented within a very short period of time, to lay on the table of the House a measure which would embrace the whole of this subject, which had been considered and repeatedly attempted to be legislated upon ever since 1830. The present bill was directed to a very small portion indeed of that large and extensive subject. It was directed to the particular mischief of having to take out probates of wills and letters of administration in different ecclesiastical courts. By way of introducing the subject, the House would probably indulge him while he stated in a very few words the present condition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction with regard to testacy and intestacy. There was the prerogative court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and another prerogative court of the Archbishop of York, and the grant of probate of a will in one province was of no avail whatever in the other. There were also the consistorial courts of the bishop of each diocese, and, in addition to these, there were at least 300 small tribunals scattered over the face of the country, which had peculiar jurisdiction in an area of limited extent over probates of wills and letters of administration. The result not unfrequently was, that a will was required to be proved in the prerogative courts of Canterbury and of York, as well as in Scotland and in Ireland; nay, from evidence that lately came before the consideration of the commissioners, it appeared that cases sometimes occurred

where a will was proved at least six times. Now, to that mischief this bill intended to address itself, but it had been so imperfectly framed and expressed that it would render the evil ten times greater than before. He alluded particularly to the first section, which provided that any probate of a will or letters of administration granted by any court of competent jurisdiction, should be in all cases, and for all purposes, as valid and effectual, in respect of the whole of the personal estate and effects of the testator, or intestate, as if the whole of such estate and effects had been within the jurisdiction of the court granting such probate or administration; thus making a dozen different courts, who might differ in opinion, co-equal in authority. It was evident that the good intent of the bill had been altogether marred and defeated by the terms in which it had been expressed. He admitted that difficulties of this nature might be remedied in committee; but he would suggest to the House that they should permit the bill to be read a second time, upon a clear understanding that it should remain on the table of the House until an opportunity was presented to the Government of bringing in a larger measure, but if the bill of the Government was not brought in within what the House might think a reasonable time, then he should not object to proceeding with the present bill, which he should endeavour to amend in committee by engraving upon it provisions which would ensure a considerable instalment of the much-needed and long-promised reform on the subject of the ecclesiastical courts. If the House would indulge him for a short time, he would state the provisions which he thought it necessary should be added, and in the expectation of which addition he consented to the bill being now read a second time. The first provision was the total abolition of the peculiar jurisdictions throughout the country. These jurisdictions stood at present in a very singular predicament, because he thought it would be found that they were doomed to be extinguished by the act 6 and 7 William IV., c. 77, and in truth these jurisdictions, which were an opprobrium to the country, had been continued from time to time by the operation of annual acts, which might be regarded as annual acts of indemnity. If the larger measure which it was the intention of the Government to introduce should not be brought in, and if the present bill with the amendments which he had suggested should not pass into a law, he warned those persons who had been in the habit of getting these annual acts passed, that he should be on the alert to oppose the introduction of any bill for such a purpose, and he should take the sense of the House upon the question whether the effect of the statute 6 and 7 Wm. IV., c. 77, should be any longer taken away by these annual acts. By taking away these courts of peculiar jurisdiction, the country would then be left with the diocesan courts of the bishops, and the prerogative courts of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The proposal which he should hereafter have to make would be to abolish the court of the Archbishop of York, and to establish one court of probate for England and Wales on all subjects of contentious jurisdiction. He would explain what was meant by contentious jurisdiction. The proving of a will in common form, as it was termed, by affidavit, was the most ordinary mode of obtaining probate. With the exception of one-tenth, or, perhaps, even one twentieth of the cases brought before the courts, all the wills that were made were proved in that form. It appeared to him, therefore, that the proof of a will in common form ought to be permitted to be made in the manner most convenient to those persons who were resident in the country, and who, therefore, ought not to be compelled to resort to a metropolitan tribunal. He should accordingly propose that there should remain to the diocesan courts the power of entertaining questions of probate of wills in common form—not giving them, however, contentious jurisdiction, nor the power of proving wills in solemn form of law by the examination of witnesses, but the power of receiving and passing wills through the common form, when the property involved came within the limit of a certain amount, say 1200*l*. Even that power, however, must be subjected to certain qualifications and conditions, and the first provision which he should propose would be one of the description which he was about to state. These diocesan courts were presided over by the chancellors of the respective dioceses, who were, in fact, judicial officers appointed by the bishop. In many cases these chancellors were men who had been duly trained to the profession of the law, and who discharged the duties of their office with great ability, giving great satisfaction to those persons who came before them. He would, therefore, allow the testamentary jurisdiction of the diocesan courts, subject to the provision that in every diocese the chancellor should be a lawyer of a certain standing. There was another qualification which he thought it most desirable to attach to these courts. He should propose as one of the conditions of continuing to them a limited testamentary jurisdiction, that every will proved in them should be transmitted to a general registry of wills in London, while official copies of the wills should be kept for reference in the registries of the different diocesan courts, which would still be preserved. Not only, however, would all questions of contentious jurisdiction be withdrawn from these courts, but all questions of law that might arise upon proving a will in common form, would be referred to the decision of the metropolitan court of probate. In connexion with this limited amount of testamentary jurisdiction to the diocesan courts, he would give to the county court a power of administering and distributing the estates of testators and intestates. The giving of a jurisdiction on the proof of wills to a tribunal which had not the power of controlling and regulating the distribution of a testator's estate was an evil and a mischief which it was most desirable to remove. It would be proper, therefore, to give the county court the right of administering within a certain limit the estate and effects of a deceased person. With regard to the metropolitan court of probate which he proposed to establish, he should propose that the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury should be transferred as it at present existed,

with all its officers and staff of experienced practitioners—he meant the registrars, clerks of the seat, and proctors—to the Court of Chancery. He said the Court of Chancery, because that court was the only tribunal which was conversant with the administration of the estates of deceased persons, and the only tribunal which would then have the power of proving and establishing wills of personality, as well as of establishing wills of real estate. The House was aware that at present a great anomaly prevailed in our system of procedure with regard to the proof of wills. A will, when proved in Doctors' Commons, was conclusive and binding with respect to the personal estate of the testator; but the decision of that tribunal had not the smallest operation upon that part of the will which related to his real estate. The result, therefore, was a degree of conflict and diversity of decision between different tribunals, the same instrument being occasionally held to be valid in regard to personality, and wholly invalid as to the real estate. The only way to get rid of this anomaly, would be to vest in one and the same tribunal the power of dealing with both the real and the personal estate, and of carrying into effect the whole of the directions contained in the instrument. The result of the arrangement would be this, that the diocesan courts must be regarded as courts placed in connexion and communication with the metropolitan tribunal—namely, the Court of Chancery, which would become the great court of probate. Another anomaly in our judicial system would then be taken away, because the present courts of probate were not regarded as the Queen's courts, but were looked upon as deriving their jurisdiction from some sort of ecclesiastical authority. He apprehended that this arrangement would introduce not only uniformity but a great deal of convenience into the administration of our judicial system—improvements which had more than once been attempted to be introduced, but which had failed from two causes. In the first place, there had been till lately a distrust entertained of the Court of Chancery, which it was supposed would perpetuate the evils complained of in the ecclesiastical courts. He was happy to state that these abuses had nearly, if not entirely, ceased, and therefore he thought the time had come when the whole subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction might be transferred to the Court of Chancery, with the certainty of its being regulated in a manner that would be beneficial to the community at large. Another reason which made it difficult to deal with the subject of the ecclesiastical courts, was the question of compensation to those whose interest might be affected by any change which might be considered desirable. But under the arrangement which he proposed, the present officers of the ecclesiastical courts would become at once officers of the Court of Chancery, and they would have given to them, exclusively, for a certain period, the privilege of proving wills in the common form. Of course, he was aware of the importance of securing the services of so useful a body of men, and he conceived that they would have no right to complain if their professional emoluments were not found to be materially affected by the change. He thought, therefore, that there would not be that remonstrance and opposition which had been formerly offered when bills of a similar kind had been introduced. It would be necessary to remind the House, that on two former occasions the legislature had been careful to provide that the officers of these courts should not be entitled to any compensation. He found that the acts 6 and 7 William IV., c. 77, provided that "in case the office of judge, registrar, or other officer of any or either of the ecclesiastical courts in England or Wales (except the Prerogative Court of Canterbury) shall become vacant, the person therunto appointed shall not, by such appointment, acquire any vested interest in such office, nor any claim or title to compensation in respect thereof, in case the same shall be hereafter abolished by Parliament." There would be no difficulty, therefore, he apprehended, in dealing with the officers whose rights seemed to stand in the way of the changes which he proposed: because he believed that scarcely an instance would occur which would not fall under the contemplated arrangement. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, now no longer ecclesiastical, would stand in this way—when a party having a fixed residence died within an existing diocese, it would be competent to his representative to prove the will in that diocese; but if any litigation arose, the question must be removed for the decision of the Court of Probate in London. The same rule would apply to the estates and effects of persons dying intestate, and in the event of persons having no fixed residence within a diocese, or dying abroad, the jurisdiction with respect to their estates would devolve upon the metropolitan Court of Probate alone, from which an appeal would lie only to the House of Lords, and not to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as heretofore. The additional objects which would be accomplished by the measure which he had stated to the House, would be extremely important in other points of view; but, in order that he might anticipate objections that might be taken to the bill, he would state that it would be the object of the measure to establish one place of registering caveats, and that in London alone. The result, therefore, would be, that there would be no necessity for searching in the various diocesan courts to ascertain if any objection would be made to the proof of a will. The House was well aware of the difficulties that arose in the administration of estates, by reason of the imperfect jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts to provide for the administration of property pending contentious proceedings arising on the proof of a will. That also would be remedied by the centralizing principle, which the Government proposed to establish with respect to those courts. He had only to repeat that he would consent to the second reading of the bill on the understanding that it was not further to be proceeded with until he had an opportunity of introducing the measure of which he had given the outline; but if that proposition was not acceded to, he hoped the House would pause before it sanctioned the introduction of a bill of this fragmentary character, which, before it could meet the re-

quirements of the occasion, must undergo very extensive modifications. (Cheers.)

The House was fairly taken by surprise. Mr. HENLEY, indeed, made some objections on behalf of the proctors, chiefly, however, from an opposition point of view, and apparently rather to embarrass the Government. But Dr. PHILLIMORE, himself a proctor, thanked him for his sympathy, but threw ridicule on his dreary anticipations. Mr. WALPOLE, another great light of the Opposition, more than approved of the measure; he proposed that the whole question of the ecclesiastical courts should be dealt with. Mr. HUME successively elicited from Mr. Bethel the announcement that the measure would extend to Scotland and Ireland, and go to the abolition of all sinecures. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hadfield's bill was postponed for a month.

#### THE NATIONAL DEBT.

The House of Commons having resolved itself into a Committee upon the Consolidated Fund and National Debt Redemption Acts, last night,

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER detailed the nature of the propositions he had to make on the part of the Government with respect to a portion of the National Debt. He did not recommend these propositions, he said, as affecting any large or sweeping changes, but as just and prudent in themselves, and as laying the foundation of more extended and future improvements. The operations effected upon the debt in former years by Lord Bexley, Lord Ripon, and Mr. Goulburn, were widely different from and more simple and easy than any that could be now carried into effect, an enormous amount of stock being exempt from compulsory operation. But the Government thought that, although they could not accomplish such magnificent results as were achieved at former periods, the time had come when a beginning might be made, which would be useful as far as it went. The plan they proposed consisted of three portions. The first was the liquidation of certain minor stocks, namely, South Sea Stock, Old and New South Sea Annuities, Bank Annuities 1726, and Three per Cent. Annuities 1751; the aggregate amount of which was about 9,500,000*l.* It was proposed to tender to the holders of these stocks certain alternatives beside that of being paid off. A moderate reduction of the rate of interest would thereby be effected, which if only a quarter per cent., would produce a permanent saving of 25,000*a-year*. If cash were called for, the Government would be enabled to employ balances now lying idle. The second portion of the plan related to the issue of Exchequer Bonds, and the third to a voluntary commutation of the Three per Cent. Consols and the Three per Cent. Reduced, making together a capital of nearly 500,000,000*l.*, thereby laying the foundation of a permanent, irredeemable Two-and-a-half per cent. stock, which was the ultimate aim of the Government and the key of the resolutions he should move. The Exchequer Bonds would be transferable by simple delivery; they would bear interest at 2½ per cent. for a time to be fixed by Parliament, reducible at the discretion of the Treasury, and afterwards to bear 2½ per cent. until the year 1894, when they would be subject to redemption; the amount of the Bonds not to exceed 30,000,000*l.* It was further proposed that these Exchequer Bonds should be exchangeable for Exchequer Bills, or against the new stocks created by the resolutions, or be sold by the Government, and the proceeds employed in the purchase of stock for cancellation.

There were some points of difficulty with reference to these securities, to obviate which he thought the wisest course would be to intrust the Government with a discretion, the amount of the bonds being limited. The Exchequer Bonds, however, would not furnish a basis sufficiently broad for the intended operation. He believed they would not suit all holders of stock; that, while they would be sought as commercial and trading securities, they would not be held as permanent property, especially by trustees. To meet the wishes of all public creditors, therefore, it was proposed to afford the means of voluntary conversion of the great Three per Cent. Stocks, and, until the 10th of October, to allow the holders of Three per Cent. Consols and Three per Cent. Reduced the option of exchanging the stocks either into Exchequer Bonds at par, or into a new Two-and-a-Half per Cent. Stock, at the rate of 82*l.* 10*s.* of the latter for every 100*l.* of the former, which would give a permanent income of 2*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, instead of 3*l.*; or it would be open to them to take, for every 100*l.* Stock, 110*l.* of a Two-and-a-half per Cent. Stock guaranteed for forty years. But it was intended to limit the extent of this option. The objection to the last alternative was that, in order to reduce the annual charge of the debt, the capital or principal would be increased; but Mr. Gladstone argued that, taking the creation of this stock in conjunction with that of the Three-and-a-Half per Cent.

Stock, posterity would suffer no disadvantage. On the contrary, posterity would enjoy a reduction of the annual charge for the debt. By the original draught of the resolutions it was left to the option of all holders of the great Three per Cent. Stocks to exchange into the new Two-and-a-half per Cent. Stock. This might have entailed an increase of the nominal capital of the debt to the extent of 50,000,000*l.*, and he did not think the risk of so large an increase should be incurred. It was intended, therefore, to limit the amount of Three per Cent. Stock to be commuted to 30,000,000*l.*, according to priority, the holders of the Three per Cent. Stocks having still, however, the option of exchanging it for Three-and-a-Half per Cents. or Exchequer Bonds. The utmost nominal addition that could be made to the capital of the National Debt would consequently be something more than 3,000,000*l.* It was proposed that the Accountant-General in the Court of Chancery and the Accountant in Bankruptcy should not have the power of exercising the option of commuting the greater stocks standing in their names. Mr. Gladstone, in conclusion, expressing his belief that if the plan succeeded the saving would be very considerable, moved a series of resolutions, pointing out the differences between the original and the amended draughts.

The ensuing discussion exhibited the House in a state bordering on surprise, not to say bewilderment. Mr. HUME approved; but Mr. WILLIAM WILLIAMS opposed the plan, because it would add to the national debt. Mr. HENLEY, Mr. Alderman THOMPSON, and Mr. J. B. SMITH, asked for time; but Mr. ELLIOT demanded an immediate decision.

Sir FITZROY KELLY attacked the proposition as a delusion; and Mr. WILSON replying to him, was himself replied to by Mr. SPOONER. Mr. LAING and Mr. MACGREGOR defended the plan; and Mr. DISBARI wound up the discussion by a speech, which fell flatly on the House, and was a weak attempt at grappling with the subject, expressed in a flippant manner. Indeed the Opposition betrayed symptoms of envy and jealousy that the proposition had been made by their successors, and showed what Lord John Russell aptly termed, a bitterness not usual on finance questions.

The whole of the resolutions (for which see below) then passed. Next week, the Bill founded on these will be introduced.

#### THE CITY ADDRESS.

The gentlemen of the City who presented the address to Louis Napoleon, formed a subject of debate in the House of Lords on Monday.

Lord CAMPBELL complained of the transaction as a violation of the law of nations, perhaps of the law of the land, and little short of high treason. The rule is, to treat on all matters of peace and war, between nation and nation, through accredited ambassadors. He did not blame the deputation; he did not impute to them stock-jobbing designs; but surely such a proceeding might be so used. He wished to know whether the deputation had the sanction of Government. For all he knew, Sir James Duke might have been sent as ambassador extraordinary to supersede Lord Cowley.

Lord CLARENCE stated that the deputation had not been sanctioned by Ministers—

A highly respectable gentleman with whom he was acquainted called upon him two or three days before the declaration was carried over to France, showed it to him, and asked him to read it over. It certainly appeared to him (the Earl of Clarendon) that its contents were perfectly unobjectionable, and that it contained simply a record of opinions, such as every right-minded man, and indeed every one who valued the maintenance of peace and the continuance of the feelings at present existing between the two countries of France and England could have no possible objection to sign. He was told by the gentleman to whom he had alluded, that this declaration was to be presented to the Emperor, but he had no information that it was to be presented with an address. He certainly did not see anything in the declaration that could be said to bear a national character, or that could be construed as more than a declaration of opinion from certain merchants and traders. When, however, that gentleman further asked if he should have any objection to instruct the British ambassador to be present at its presentation, he (the Earl of Clarendon) stated he should certainly object to give such instructions, and the British ambassador was not present. No doubt some of the French Ministers might have been present when the address was received by the Emperor; but he had now heard for the first time that his Majesty received it on the throne. He must say that, as far as he had heard, the presentation of the address had produced a good impression; though certainly, had his opinion been asked whether it was desirable that such an address should be carried over to the Emperor of the French, he should have said no, because he thought that it was perfectly unnecessary with reference to the maintenance of the good understanding that now subsisted between the two countries, which he was happy to say was of the most cordial description.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH trusted the transaction was repugnant to the feelings of every Englishman who did not disparage himself and his country by being

present at the presentation of this address. He had heard with pleasure every word of the speech of his noble and learned friend, except its commencement, and some of the epithets which were to be found in the course of it. He dissented from the whole of the complimentary part of it. He must confess that the whole transaction filled him with "unqualified disgust."

Lord MELMESBURY palliated the affair in his peculiar way:—

He thought that the address was unnecessary, and he regretted it for that reason. He regretted, also, that a communication should have been made to the French Government through channel not officially accredited. But as it had been made, it was a source of congratulation to him (the Earl of Melmesbury) to have been in Paris and to have seen the good effect which it had produced. He had spoken to various French Ministers, and other persons not in office, on the subject, and they had all received it with the greatest pleasure; nor did they seem to have the most distant idea that it emanated from any feelings derogatory to the English nation or Government.

After some conversation between Lord Campbell and the Lord Chancellor as to the kind of illegality that pertained to the address—Lord Campbell defining it as something the law had not sanctioned—the matter dropped.

#### THE BIRTH OF A PRINCE

Gave rise to small speeches in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Peers Lord ABERDEEN spoke as follows:—

"My lords,—Before proceeding to the business before the House, I wish to submit a motion to your lordships, which I feel confident will receive your cordial and unanimous support. My lords, in consequence of a happy event, which we recognise to-day in the birth of a Prince, I am desirous of moving an address of congratulation to her Majesty, as an expression on the part of this House of that devotion and attachment which her Majesty is so well entitled to receive. (Cheers.) Persuasion is not necessary in asking your lordships to agree to such an address, and I feel that I should only be doing that which would be unbecoming, if I endeavoured to use any expression in order to induce your lordships to give your cordial assent to the motion I am about to make. I shall therefore simply move that a humble address be presented to her Majesty, congratulating her Majesty on the birth of another Prince, and assuring her Majesty that every addition to her Majesty's domestic happiness affords the highest satisfaction to your lordships' House." (Cheers.)

As Lord Derby was absent at the moment, his lieutenant, Lord MELMESBURY, seconded the motion:—

"My lords,—Although, according to the forms of your lordship's House, it is unnecessary that any motion made by one peer should be seconded by another; and although it is still more unnecessary that any member of this House should express to your lordships his conviction that the sentiments expressed by the noble lord are shared in by every member of her Majesty's subjects, yet I should be erring in my duty if, on the part of noble lords sitting on this side of the House, and in the absence of the Earl of Derby, I did not express their entire concurrence in the sentiments uttered by the noble earl, at the news we have just received of the safe delivery of her Majesty. (Cheers.) My lords, every year adds to the affection which the subjects of Queen Victoria feel for her; and no other expression of mine is necessary to prove to this House, or any other assembly of her Majesty's subjects, that there is but one feeling of loyalty and affection throughout the country for a Queen who has reigned so constitutionally, so kindly, and yet with so much strength and dignity, over the people of this empire." (Cheers.)

In the House of Commons the orators were Lord JOHN RUSSELL and Mr. DISRAELI. Both were brief. Lord John said—

"Before we proceed to the ordinary business of the day, the House will, no doubt—from those feelings of loyalty which had ever distinguished it—be anxious to congratulate her Majesty upon every addition to her Majesty's domestic happiness. I will not add another word, but will simply move that an humble address be presented to her Majesty, congratulating her Majesty upon the birth of another Prince, and to assure her Majesty that every addition to her domestic happiness affords the most sincere satisfaction to her Majesty's faithful Commons. (Cheers.)"

Performing the duty of the Leader of the Opposition, from which rumour said he had been deposed, Mr. Disraeli seconded the motion.—

"Sir, I have the honour of seconding the address moved by the noble lord; and I am sure that those feelings of affectionate loyalty which prevail amongst all classes of her Majesty's faithful subjects, render such a motion not a matter of mere ceremony. Those feelings spring from a pure conviction on the part of the country that the Royal house of this realm is associated with the best interests of this land. (Cheers.)"

Both addresses were agreed to without a dissentient.

#### CORRUPT ELECTIONS.

Some election matters were discussed and alluded to on Tuesday evening. The proposed Commission of Inquiry into bribery at Hull, was the most remarkable. Mr. LABOUCHERE moved an address to the Crown, praying for the appointment of the commission. In doing so, he stated the facts of the case. After an inquiry into the circumstances of the last election, Mr. Clay and Lord Goderich were unseated. Corrupt "treating," systematic bribery of the freemen at 30s. a-head, and bribery of the poorer 10/- householders

("who," witnessed an agent, "were troublesome, as they did not know exactly their own price"), were clearly proved. In admitting that the suspension of the writ was a serious step, Mr. Labouchere seemed to use irony against our electoral system. "The House would not accede to the proposal without great regret, seeing what the measure was with regard to so great a city as Hull. Hull was one of the most ancient and important of our commercial communities; it now comprised not less than 80,000 inhabitants, and it had a constituency of from 4000 to 5000 voters." Mr. W. Forsyth, Mr. B. Brett, and Mr. Flood, were the proposed commissioners.

Mr. WALPOLE and Mr. BANKES, objecting to this commission being made a precedent, gave a hesitating assent to the motion.

The issue of a new writ for the borough of Lancaster was next discussed, Mr. W. BROWN moving the issue. Mr. THORNELY objected. Bribery and treating had been clearly proved in the case of Lancaster. Mr. HUME pointed out the want of a general measure on this subject, promised by Lord John Russell, who was not now in his place to pronounce on this motion. Mr. AGLIONBY complained of the caprice of the House; the issue of writs often depended on whether the motion was brought on before or after dinner. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER confessed that the saying was too true. But in the present case, as neither the committee nor the inhabitants of the town objected, he thought the writ should be issued. Mr. DRUMMOND asked why did they not adopt some means of "getting at the attorneys," who were at the very root of the evil of electoral corruption. LORD STANLEY testified that Lancaster was corrupt, but, in the absence of a definite rule, he would vote for the issue of the writ. The motion was then agreed to.

The other election matters were not of weight. The Athlone election petition has been withdrawn. The consideration of the Norwich case was postponed for a week. The evidence taken before the Windsor committee is to be printed. A bill, to provide that candidate's agents, convicted of bribery, should be named to the House, was intimated among the notices of motion.

On the motion of Mr. VERNON SMITH, chairman of the Cambridge Election Committee, an address for a commission to inquire into corrupt practices at elections in that borough, where, according to the evidence taken before the committee, there had existed extensive and systematic corruption, was agreed to.

Akin to these topics, is the question of the

#### DOCKYARD APPOINTMENTS

of the late Administration. Sir B. HALL gave notice that he would call attention to Parliamentary Papers 271 and 272, relating to dockyard appointments and promotions, and, if necessary, found a motion upon them. Mr. STAFFORD appealed to Lord John Russell and the House to give every facility for full inquiry. Mr. DISRAELI suggested that the matter should be discussed "the very first thing" on Monday. Lord JOHN RUSSELL suggested, instead, next Thursday, which was finally fixed. On this subject, in reply to Mr. TUFNELL, Sir J. GRAHAM stated, amid cheers, that the orders respecting promotions in the dockyards issued by the present Board of Admiralty, had been made as permanent as they could be without an Act of Parliament; for the first time, as regards dockyard regulations, they were imposed by an Order in Council, passed by her Majesty, and could not be repealed without an appeal to the same authority.

Two very diverse subjects were discussed in succession on Tuesday; the first was

#### RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

The subject of railway casualties was introduced by Mr. H. BROWN, who proposed a general resolution, stating that it was the duty of the Government to provide effectual measures for the safety of the public while travelling on railways. After referring to the notorious profusion of fatal and grievous accidents, Mr. Brown pointed out the impropriety of Lord Campbell's Bill—it valued the useful man in pence and the merely ornamental man in pounds. Most of the accidents resulted from disregard of arrangements or insufficiency of staff. Mr. F. FRENCH seconded the motion, pointing out the source of the evil. When the railway companies had paid eleven millions in Parliamentary expenses they could not afford to keep sufficient staffs.

Mr. CARDWELL opposed the resolution on the grounds that the committee now sitting on railways were examining the question in all its bearings, and were obtaining the best evidence that could be had. He had also sent to France and Belgium for information. Respecting Government interference they had laid before them a document of great importance, namely, a report to the Congress of the United States. In that report it was said, that it might be doubtful whether a more direct interference would not tend to

increase the danger of the public instead of to diminish it; because to affect the authority from which the regulations must emanate, would give rise to confusion and embarrassment, would engender bad feeling and hostility between the companies and the Government, would take from the officers their responsibility, and might thus lead to results disastrous to the safety of the public. Surely that was a subject worth inquiring into.

Mr. J. M'GREGOR defended railway directors in general. The precautions now taken on railways were unknown some years ago, and, considering the number of passengers travelling by rail, the accidents were not so very numerous. Mr. D. WADDINGTON followed in the same strain. Directors always acted on the suggestions of the Board of Trade, and when an accident occurred were as full of anxiety as if it had occurred in their own families. Directors would rather like Government control. Mr. LAING continued the vindication of the companies, backing his arguments with statistics.

In comparing English with foreign lines, they must always bear in mind the difference of speed, and the difference in the number of trains run. In Belgium there were fewer accidents on the railways; but the speed was not much greater than the old stage-coach speed in England. In France and America there were fewer accidents; but the speed was altogether lower, and fewer trains were run. While the English lines were running ten or twelve trains every day, the others were only running four or five. And as the continental lines approximated more to the English style of travelling, the number of accidents was increasing very rapidly. Recently, he had seen an account of five accidents on the Prussian railways in one week only. On the American railways, as the speed had been increased, the number of accidents had increased most alarmingly; the one in which the President of the United States had lost his son was as calamitous as any that had occurred in this country. By the last official return of the Board of Trade, for the half-year ending the 30th of June, 1852, it appeared that the whole number of persons travelling had been 39,249,605; while only one passenger had been killed from causes beyond his own control.

Mr. BROWN then withdrew his motion.

#### CHEAP WINE

Was the object of Mr. OLIVEIRA's motion; proposing a committee of the whole House with a view to the reduction of the present duties on imported wines to 1s. per imperial gallon. The mover claimed a wide importance for the motion; it affected not alone "the narrow question whether wine shall be cheap or dear," but also our finance, foreign treaties, and, indirectly, the peace of the world. By diminishing the duty on wine an increased revenue could be obtained; and the exports of English manufacturers to the wine producing countries would be a certain consequence. That sufficient wine to meet the increased consumption can be produced is an established fact. Portugal alone produces 900,000 pipes of wine—sound wholesome wine suited to the tastes of our middling and humbler classes, possessing body, flavour, and warmth. France produces 90,000,000 gallons, Teneriffe 25,000 pipes, and Madeira 30,000 pipes. A taste for wine is spreading among our artisans and labourers. A victualler in the Strand said before the committee:—"Bricklayers' labourers, coalheavers, journeymen carpenters, and men of all grades, come in and take their glass of wine. You never see anybody drunk in my house; we have had 1,000 people a day, and not a drunken man amongst them. Irish labourers frequently carry home a bottle of port to their families. I have seen them come miles to get a bottle of draught wine."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, premising that he must reserve his opinion on this question until he made his financial statement, avowed that very little had fallen from the hon. gentleman in which he did not thoroughly concur. He was not of the same opinion with those who thought that it was visionary to hope for a greatly increased consumption of wine in this country—the taste of the people not lying in that direction. But he thought that the taste of the people of this country with respect to wine was altogether the result of the fiscal system that had prevailed for so long a period. Considering wine as one of the greatest gifts of Providence to man—considering the place it occupied as a means of subsistence and as a restorative of health—considering its superiority in that respect over alcoholic spirits—he must confess that it would be most desirable, if possible, to make a most important change in the wine duties. The extension of trade with other nations of Europe, the breaking down of the virtual monopoly created by the present system, the getting rid of the spurious articles which were brought into demand by the present high rate of duty—all these and many more advantages undoubtedly recommended the proposition of the hon. gentleman to favour—not, perhaps, the very alteration which he recommended, but such an alteration as would bring about in time a change in the wine duties. But the question was one of revenue, and he doubted the accu-

racy of the anticipations of those who thought the revenue would recover the reduction in two years. He doubted it because the people must first acquire a taste for wines; and he did not think that with regard to wines or any other article the taste of a whole people could be revolutionised in a single day. The present taste of the public in respect to wine was owing to their long prevalent fiscal system: but still they could not alter that national taste except in the course of years. The present consumption of foreign wines was 6,000,000 gallons, and to produce at the £1. duty the same amount of revenue as was produced by the present duty, there should be a consumption of 36,000,000 gallons. Now, a consumption of 36,000,000 gallons could not take place unless the national taste became so greatly altered or modified that he might call it a complete transformation. At present the wine duties produced one million; he was not prepared to sacrifice that amount of revenue; and if he were he would have the reduction of other duties pressed on his attention by those who wished lowered duties on tea, on coffee, or on soap.

MR. JOHN M'GREGOR approved of the reduction, but recognised the financial difficulties that would result. MR. MOFFATT adduced instances to show that increased consumption would follow. MR. HUME saw good in the motion. Nothing was so injurious as to tax the innocent beverages of the poor. They ought to make beer cheap; looking to the consumption of 26,000 gallons of spirits, they should consider whether Parliament had not been a party to the increase. After a few words from other members the motion was withdrawn.

**BRITISH SEAMEN.**—In the House of Lords last night, the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH presented a petition from the mariners of Hartlepool complaining of the proposed alterations in the proportion of British and foreign seamen employed in the merchant service, and praying that those alterations might not be permitted to become law. The noble earl warned the House against alienating the affections of British seamen by lowering their wages, and concluded by declaring that such a line of policy reminded him of that pursued by the Roman statesman who hired Goths to defend the State, and thus ruined the Empire which he had intended to protect. Earl GRANVILLE, after depreciating the discussion of matters at present pending before the Lower House, protested against the imputation that the object of the alteration was to lower the wages of British seamen, or to do them any injustice. After some observations from the Duke of ARGYLL the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

**DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.**—On the order for going into committee of supply, last night, Mr. EWART called attention to the expediency of instituting an examination of candidates for the diplomatic service. Lord STANLEY said, the subject had occupied the attention of the late Government, and he was bound to say that the result of a full consideration of it was, that there appeared to be no material difficulty in the way of a system of examination. At the same time, it was impossible not to see that the subject was connected with a much wider question—namely, the general question, whether the diplomatic service ought to be treated as a special profession and exclusive service, like the army and navy: and it appeared to him very doubtful whether it was desirable to render diplomacy a profession. If it continued to be so regarded, it was indispensable, in his opinion, to establish some test. Lord PALMERSTON said, when he held the seals of the Foreign-office, he had taken steps to establish a test for the junior members of the diplomatic service. He did not concur in the opinion of Lord Stanley that the diplomatic service should not be treated as a special profession. Our diplomats had been sometimes disengaged, but his experience of our diplomatic body had convinced him that no Government in the world was better served or so well informed as the British Government by the agents it employed. Mr. DISRAELI maintained that the position of Lord Stanley was a sound and true principle, and that by reforming our diplomatic service upon that principle, it would be rendered much more efficient. Mr. BOWYER, Mr. PHILLIMORE, and Dr. R. PHILLIMORE made a few remarks, and the subject was dropped.

**IRISH STATE DEBTS.**—Mr. GEORGE HENRY MOORE brought up the old question known as the repayment of advances made to Ireland during the famine. While the landlords are willing to repay a great portion of it, they complain of the large amount expended under the Labour Rate Act, and think that in justice it ought to be remitted. Mr. GLADSTONE declined to state what were the intentions of Government until he made his financial statement; but he vigorously defended the Government of the day when the debts were contracted. Lord JOHN RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES WOOD spoke on the same side. Their most notable opponents were Mr. ISAAC BUTT and Mr. JOSEPH NAPIER. The motion for a committee to consider the question with a view to remitting the debt, was lost by 143 to 95.

**INDIA.**—The Earl of HARROWBY, on Thursday, presented a petition from the native inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency, complaining of their exclusion from office, and of the general mal-administration of the affairs of India under the present system. The noble Earl, after an able speech, in which he went into the grievances of the petitioners in detail, moved that the petition be laid on the table, and referred to the Select Committee on India. The Earl of ALBEMARLE supported the prayer of the petitioners, who, he believed, complained of grievances which it was the duty of the Imperial Government to redress. The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH also addressed the House in support of the petition, and especially implored the Government, in any future plan for the administration of

India, to take care that the Governor-General was placed under the direct and sole authority of the Crown.

**THE COMBINATION OF WORKMEN BILL.** (Mr. Drummond) has been read a second time. Mr. HUME's Bill gives "perfect equality to masters and workmen," but recent decisions had unsettled the question. This Bill, therefore, declares the law.

**AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS.**—An attempt was made by MR. PHINN, in committee on this bill, to enact that corporal punishment should be inflicted on offenders, in addition to six months' imprisonment. But it was opposed on the ground that it was inconsistent with the spirit of the age, and a retrograde step towards making punishment vengeance for crime, instead of protection for society. Pressed to a division the amendment was rejected by 108 to 50.

**DECIMAL COINAGE.**—In reply to a question on this head, the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER admitted the importance of the arguments in favour of a Decimal coinage, but said that an alteration in the character of those particular coins, which are in point of fact the measures of value, and the basis of the whole idea of value to the mass of the population, is a very serious change. The Government would assent to the intended appointment of a select committee to consider the subject.

**THE CHAIRMAN OF GOOD HEALTH.**—Mr. WILSON PATTEN, not being in good health, intimated his retirement from this office. Both Lord JOHN RUSSELL and Mr. DISRAELI spoke warmly of the admirable judgment and temper with which Mr. Patten had performed his duties.

#### MR. GLADSTONE'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following is an abstract of the Resolutions, proposed by Mr. Gladstone:—

"South Sea Stock, South Sea Annuities, and the Three per Cent. Annuities of 1728 and 1751, are to be compulsorily redeemed."

Holders of the above stock, by giving a notice on or before the 6th of May, 1853, may receive for every 100£ stock either "82½ 10s. Three-and-a-Half per Cent. Stock, not redeemable before 6th January, 1894, an arrangement by which the nation will pay an interest of 21 17s. 6d. per cent. per annum for 40 years, and will further have reduced the capital of its debt at the end of that period by 171 10s. per cent."

"Or, 100£ Two-and-a-Half per Cent. Stock, also not redeemable before the 6th of January, 1894, an offer which gives the holders of the stocks proposed to be redeemed an annual interest of 22 per cent. for 40 years, the nation finding itself saddled at the end of that period with an increase of 10 per cent. in the nominal amount of its debt, an increase, it be marked, exactly equivalent to the nation's saving in interest during the 40 years."

"Or £100 Exchequer Bond bearing 24 per cent. annual interest for a few years, not longer than ten, and then bearing 21 per cent. till 1894, with coupons attached, with interest payable to bearer half-yearly, and with the option of redeeming the bonds in 1894 to rest with the Government, or with the bondholder, as may be agreed to at the time of issue. This is by far the simplest and most natural arrangement."

"After the 5th of January, 1854, the interest on the above-named 3 per cent. stocks proposed to be compulsorily reduced shall cease, and parties not acceding to the Government proposal shall be paid off."

"Holders of Consols or Reduced may also convert their stock on giving notice by the 10th of October, 1853, into either of the new stocks of Exchequer Bonds on the same terms."

"The amount of the new Exchequer Bonds shall not exceed thirty millions sterling. [No limit is apparently fixed to the issue of the new stocks.] Trustees converting stock are to be indemnified."

[Mr. Gladstone's scheme, therefore, provides for the compulsory payment of the following stocks:—]

South Sea Stock, or original capital at 3½ per cent.	£3,662,784
Old South Sea Annuities at 3 per cent.	3,010,378
New South Sea Annuities at ditto	2,137,984
South Sea ditto, 1751	480,200
Bank Annuities, 1728	709,292
	£10,000,638

The resolutions have been amended. The Two-and-a-Half per Cent. Stock is limited to thirty millions.]

#### MR. CRAWSHAY'S SPEECH ON THE TURKISH QUESTION.

**PUBLIC OPINION** in the provinces, informed by intelligent leaders, is being awakened to a lively interest in European politics. In the greatly industrial town of Newcastle, the citizens, properly headed by the Mayor, have emphatically pronounced that England should preserve the "maintenance of the independence of Turkey against the aggressions of Austria and Russia." On Tuesday the meeting for this purpose was held; the lecture-room was crowded; the Mayor took the chair.

Mr. George Crawshay was the principal speaker. His speech combined a clear statement of the case, a keen analysis of the circumstances, and a spirited appeal to the public feeling of the country. He pointed out that until lately none but statesmen were interested in foreign politics; now, meetings of the people to pronounce on them had been frequently held, and the successful meeting before him was a striking evidence of the change. This change might be dated from the time of the Hungarian struggle; the country felt with Hungary against the intervention of Russia, and sympathized with the Sultan in his refusal to give up the refugees. The Sultan, following the dictates of his noble heart, had released Kossuth, and he had thus awakened the attachment of this country, and the vengeance of Austria. The opportunity for that vengeance had now come. Upon the confines of Turkey and Austria there was a little province called Montenegro. It had been always recognised as a province of Turkey; but Austria, on the ground that the Montenegrins were "Christians," took the people into its

especial favour. They were a savage and barbarous people; one of their constant practices being the cutting off the heads of those whom they slew in battle, and carrying them about as trophies. These Montenegrins attacked the subjects of the Sultan, who interfered to protect his people. But Austria grew indignant at the presence of a Turkish army on its frontiers; it consequently sent menacing messages to Constantinople, to make audacious demands on the Sultan. The Sultan applied to the English embassy for a promise of support, but the request was refused, and so the Porte had to yield all that was asked. After having detailed these facts in a popular style, Mr. Crawshay commented on them.

"The time had come when public opinion must be informed upon this subject—and he believed the views of statesmen upon the subject were such as any thinking working man in the meeting could comprehend if they were properly laid before him. If Lord John Russell came down to Newcastle and told them his reasons for considering the preservation of the independence of Turkey of so great importance, he would find an audience who would perfectly comprehend him, and entirely sympathize with him. Now, the first reason why our statesmen thought the independence of Turkey was of importance to this country was our possession of India. If Russia were in possession of Turkey, next to Turkey came Persia, which was already undermined by the intrigues of Russia, and between which and our Indian empire there interposed only the tribes of Afghanistan, our enemies. Our overland route to India might then be cut off; in one word, he thought that in the event of Russia coming into the possession of Turkey, their friend John Bright and his Manchester friends might spare themselves the trouble of reforming our Indian empire. (Laughter, and applause.) Our trade with Turkey was the next consideration which influenced statesmen and commercial men in recognising the extreme importance of maintaining the independence of that country. We talked of free trade, but the Turkish Government was the only one in the world which perfectly carried out the principle of free trade. (Applause.) The Turkish Government levied a duty of 3 per cent. *ad valorem* upon imported goods of every description. The consequence was, that our trade with Turkey had been for some time past upon the increase, and at the present time was of double the magnitude of our trade to Austria and Russia both combined; while our trade with Austria and Russia was stationary, for the simple reason that they acted on the principle of monopoly and restriction, and took just so much of our manufactures as they could not help, and just such of our fabrics as they could not make. He might be told that he wanted to create a spirit of war. He might be told by the friends of peace that he was advocating a warlike policy. Now, let him observe, that as to those friends of peace who would not justify the use of arms under any circumstances, he did not think it worth his while to enter into any answer. (Applause.) He might and he did respect their motives, and he might look forward to the accomplishment of their object; but he regarded it as so utterly impossible in the present time to act on such principles, that he declined to enter into any argument with them. But, with regard to that great portion of the population of this country who were desirous of peace, as they assembled in that lecture-room, were desirous of peace before they heard of the Peace Society, some of them might, perhaps, say, 'Suppose you were to send a diplomatist who could write Austria and Russia a note, asking them, "Will you agree to give us free passage to India—will you agree to levy no more duties upon our commerce?"—well, he thought it probable—nay, he thought it certain—that the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of Austria would take off their hats to such a diplomatist, and would say "Most certainly." They would make any promise—nay, he believed they would offer any bribe—to obtain the consent of this country to their spoliation of Turkey. But Lord John Russell had said in the House of Commons, that he trusted no Englishman would ever be party to any such scenes as were enacted at the partition of Poland—(applause)—and he (Mr. Crawshay) perfectly agreed with the import of these words. They should consider with whom they have to deal, even should they contemplate any compromise. Would they believe the Governments of Austria and Russia? Could they trust them? Would they leave their trade or their interests at their mercy? Would they fear put their trade in their power? He thought not. He was aware that what he was about to say might appear to some hard, and rash, and uncharitable; but at such a crisis as this it was of no use taking upon oneself the responsibility of speaking at all unless one spoke the whole truth; and he had no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that, except in diplomatic language, friendship between England and the Governments of Austria and Russia was impossible. (Applause.) It might have existed all very well in the good old Tory times; but since the period of the Reform Bill this country had entered on a career of advancement in civil, religious, and commercial liberty, which he believed it would maintain. He did not allude to any violent or sudden democratic progress; but he believed there was no rational Englishman but would concede to him that it was quite apparent that this country was advancing in liberty, and not going back to arbitrary government. (Applause.) But with regard to the Governments of Austria and Russia, he lamented to say that they had entered upon precisely the contrary course—they depended for their very existence upon the maintenance of priestly authority and military despotism, and under those principles the continent of Europe had become a sanguinary battle-field. (Applause and dissent.) Yes, he repeated, the continent of Europe was a battle-field at the present time. He did not call that peace in Italy. He did not call that peace in Hungary. He called it a state of war, with the desperate insurrections on one

side, and on the other side the despots, the hangman, and the galler. (Applause.)

Antagonism between England and Austria was inevitable—so long as the one advanced in its liberal course, and the other continued in its despotism. It was essential; it was simple self-defence that England should resist the encroachments of despotism in this matter of Turkey. The maintenance of Turkey was our last chance of peace. Lord John Russell had said, with reason, if the dismemberment of Turkey took place we should have an European war. This country must keep Russia where she is—she must not advance. It was said that Turkey was weak and must give way. The more weak she was the more necessary was it that we should be firm in her support.

"If we lived at a place like Holmfirth, where so many had recently been swept away by an inundation, and were told that the dam was weak and likely to give way, and that the water was rising, what would we do? We should strengthen that dam. Now, in the same way, the waters of Russian invasion had been gathering and swelling from the north during a long period. Poland and Hungary had already been overwhelmed. Austria was involved in the vortex, and now they pressed upon Turkey, and if Turkey should be broken down the waters would desolate the world. (Sensation.) He, therefore, considered it necessary as a matter of prudence we should to the last uphold Turkey as the last barrier that remained."

Our present policy was to keep things as they are. If England and France were united Turkey was safe; but they could not rely on the present Government of France. The people of France were with them, and the time would come when Napoleon should aid revolution, or be swept away. Then there would be a hearty alliance between England and France, and the danger would be past. All who urged the Sultan to liberate Kossuth were bound in honour not to forget him now that he was in difficulty. The memorial he would propose should be signed throughout England.

He believed that the men in different towns of England who were most hearty and forward in the movement for the liberation of Kossuth were men of conscience—he appealed to their consciences, and he called upon them to do as, with triumphant success they had done before, to convene public meetings, to call upon their members of Parliament for their support in the way out at Newcastle (Applause). He called upon the men of Birmingham, of Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Leicester, Nottingham, Leeds, Bristol, Bradford, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Halifax, Paisley, Northampton, Rochdale, of Padiham, and of Keighley, in all of which towns meetings were held for the liberation of Kossuth, and he said if they did not come forward they were disgraced. (Applause.) He told them that their old enthusiastic friends would again rally round them in this movement, and that they would have many new friends besides, as we have found here. Bankers, merchants, manufacturers, men of large business and influential connexion would join them, and they would evoke a formidable expression of opinion.

Mr. Crawshay then read the memorial. It expresses deep concern on the subject of Montenegro, anxiety for the independence of Turkey, and an earnest hope that England would prevent any aggression by Russia and Austria. Influence acquired by these two powers in the East would be used against British trade in India, which, with the English trade in the districts of Asia, accessible through the Dardanelles, owes much to the liberal commercial policy of Turkey.\* Civil and religious liberty are on our side—priestly authority and military despotism on the other. We inevitably offend the despots by sheltering the refugees; they have shown themselves hostile to our principles by the Russian intervention in Hungary, and the present conduct of Austria in Italy. It is, therefore, the natural duty of England to maintain the independence of Turkey, and to resist the advancement of the two great despots.

The Memorial was unanimously adopted. Mr. Blackett, M.P., Mr. Henry Turner, Mr. Henderson, and Sir John Fife also addressed the meeting.

The whole proceedings seemed a happy beginning of a new lesson for Englishmen—the lesson of grave concern in the affairs of other countries, whose interests are, in truth, not foreign to the interests of England.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

#### LETTER LXVII.

Paris, Thursday, April 7, 1853.

LITTLE or nothing has occurred worth noticing since my last. We have been amused, however, by a letter of M. de Montalembert's protesting against the transformation of the *Corps Légitif* into a *Corps de Ballet*. I subjoin this letter, with the corrections and amendments it received from the writer before publication:—

#### "MONSIEUR LE MAIRE DE BESANCON,—

"I have the honour to transmit to you a sum of a thousand francs, which I beg you to employ on behalf

\* It is very difficult (at least we find it so) to transmute the point and *esprit* of the French original into readable English. We therefore give, for the benefit of our French

of the poor apprentices de Besançon. This offering is intended to represent my share in the contribution demanded of my colleagues to meet the expenses of the ball which has lately been given to H. M. the Emperor in the name of the *Corps Légitif*. I did not associate myself with that demonstration. Indeed, the promoters did not consider it to be their duty to solicit an official decision of the Assembly in that behalf. I cannot think that it falls within the province of political bodies, even salaried bodies, to provide dancing for the Court and the town. At least, I have in vain sought for an analogous precedent in the history of former Legislatures, even in the time of the first Empire. Our labours, I fear, will scarcely appear important or serious enough to justify the desire for such recreations in the eyes of the public. Besides, I am quite sure that the electors of Doubs never thought, when they elected me their deputy, that the Chamber to which they deputed me would one day substitute entertainments of this kind for the serious intervention of the country in its affairs, or that it would replace the demolished tribune by an *orchestre de bal*. (Signed) MONTALEMBERT."

Imagine the grimace with which Bonaparte must have read this document. Notice was sent to all the Paris journals forbidding them to publish it. The *Indépendance Belge*, which had published it, was seized at the frontier, and at the Post. But the noble ladies of the Faubourg St. Germain have made up for this scant supply. They imposed on one another a contribution of twenty copies each, and within ten days the town was inundated with more than 40,000 copies. Many people think this letter will turn out a serious affair. President Billault and the promoters of the ball want to prosecute M. de Montalembert, but the majority of his colleagues, who were taxed for the entertainment without having been consulted on the subject, seem disposed to take part for him. In the meanwhile the 750 francs have been kept back out of M. de Montalembert's salary by the questors of the Chamber. It remains to be seen whether he will claim repayment, and bring an action against the questors for restitution.

The *Corps Légitif* is at present engaged in the examination of the budget. President Billault, in laying the budget before the Chamber, made a speech in which he assured the Deputies that "though it was true that the Senatus Consulte of December 25 enjoined them to vote the budget by ministries, they were not interdicted from discussing it by chapters, and he, therefore, invited the deputies to bestow their whole attention upon the examination of the different chapters." Some deputies replied to the President "that it would be useless for them to discuss the budget with scrupulous minuteness, as they were utterly deprived of any authority to carry such reforms as they might consider necessary into effect; that supposing they found such and such chapters susceptible of reductions, yet as they had no alternative but to reject the total credit affected to the ministerial department, not a single deputy would be found to take upon himself so serious a measure; hence their right was illusory; consequently they had nothing to do but to vote without discussion the budget just as it was presented to them."

Nevertheless, the budget was laid before the Bourbons, and the discussion immediately commenced. This discussion produced no result; no committee was formed, and, what is more significant, no one offered to serve. I will explain this unusual occurrence. Last year, the *Corps Légitif*, bad as it was, had the good sense to nominate a committee on the budget, composed, principally, of certain notables of the old Chamber of Deputies; MM. Chasseloup-Laubat, Gonin, Montalembert, Flavigny, etc. The committee on the budget thus constituted raised a formidable opposition to the Government, forcing it to discuss every chapter of the readers, the text itself of this pungent letter of M. de Montalembert.

#### "MONSIEUR LE MAIRE DE BESANCON,—

"J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre une somme de mille francs que je vous prie d'employer dans l'intérêt de l'œuvre des apprentis de Besançon. Cette offrande est destinée à représenter ma part dans la contribution demandée à mes collègues pour subvenir aux frais du bal qui vient d'être offerte à S. M. l'Empereur au nom du *Corps Légitif*. Je ne me suis pas associé à cette démonstration dont les auteurs n'ont pas cru du reste devoir provoquer une décision officielle de l'Assemblée. Je ne pense pas qu'il entre dans les attributions des corps politiques, même salariés, de faire danser la Cour et la ville. Je cherche en vain un précédent analogue dans la chronique des Législatures antérieures, même sous le premier Empire. Nos travaux, je le crains, ne paraîtront ni assez importants ni assez sérieux pour faire comprendre au public que nous ayons besoin de pareilles distractions. Je suis d'ailleurs bien sûr que les électeurs de Doubs n'ont jamais songé en m'écrivant, que la Chambre ou ils m'envoyaient dût un jour substituer des réjouissances de ce genre à l'intervention sévère du pays dans ses affaires, et remplacer la tribune renversée par un *orchestre de bal*. Agréez, &c. &c. (Signed) MONTALEMBERT."

budget, item by item. To punish these refractory deputies, the government denounced them to their departments as "revolutionaries," and "socialists," and got them hooted by troops of peasants. Now these gentlemen are resolved to "take it out" of the Government; so they refuse to form a committee on the budget. They begin to understand that the best way of "making opposition" to Bonaparte is, to prove to the country that it is not represented. Consequently they have made up their minds to give up discussing altogether, and to accept everything with their eyes shut. Such are the tactics they have persuaded their colleagues to adopt.

A question raised by the ultra-montane party in the Clergy has agitated public opinion considerably of late. I said a word or two about it in a former letter, with respect to the conditions assigned by the Pope to his visit to France. I told you that the Holy See had demanded neither more nor less than the suppression of the Concordat of 1802, and the abolition of civil marriage. The religious journals, having the cue from Rome, proceeded, all of a sudden, to attack the civil marriage, and were replied to by the other journals. Thereupon the clergy incited M. Sauzet, formerly president of the Chamber of Deputies in Louis Philippe's reign, to enter the lists as a lawyer, and with the authority of a legal opinion to pronounce almost directly against the civil marriage. M. Dupin, a rival of M. Sauzet, has taken advantage of this circumstance to give his *confère* and ex-colleague a rap on the knuckles. His reply, inserted in the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, is an energetic protest against the ultramontane pretensions, and at the same time an act of courage, of good sense, and of high prudence in the opinion of all who have not yet abdicated, with their dignity as men, the rights of free citizens, of French citizens. The abolition of civil marriage, and of the constitutive articles of the Gallican Church, would be equivalent, according to M. Dupin, to a *partial abdication of the national sovereignty*; and in that case, both in fact and in right, the Church would no longer be subject to the laws of the State. She would be sovereign in her turn, and above the law even in the temporal order. To this, the *Univers*, the ultramontane journal, has the effrontery to rejoin, that the Church demands predominance over the temporal order: and that, strictly speaking, the State should be absorbed by the Church: *à fortiori*, the civil ceremony should be subordinated to the religious sacrament. Bonaparte, uneasy at the turn the discussion was taking, inserted in the *Monsieur* a notice, that it had never been the intention of the Government to suppress the civil marriage, or even to modify it, and that all rumours to that effect were erroneous.

The quarrel of the clergy, however, becomes every day more envenomed. It appears that, at Rome, M. Veuillot, chief editor of the *Univers*, has got the better of the Archbishop of Paris. The latter is highly incensed, and declares that he will bring the question before all his bishops who side with him. On the other hand, the Bishop of Moulins, who has the impertinence to call the Archbishop of Paris "*mon père confère*," is about to rally under his banner all the dissident bishops. The laity are calmly expecting to see these terrible combatants exterminate each other (for the love of Christ), with a whole artillery of missals, breviaries, and Bibles. It will be a new campaign of Boileau's *Lutrin*.

The *Assemblée Nationale*, and *La Mode*, two Legitimist journals, have just received a second warning. *Per contra*, a great number of arrests have recently been effected in the Republican party. Workmen have been caught assembling in the streets to talk politics; others have been arrested distributing letters of Félix Pyat. A democratic banquet, moreover, has taken place at the Barrière du Trône, of workmen and soldiers combined; both were arrested. In spite of all their persecutions, the masses are in course of a complete reorganization. The Republican party, however, is not likely to move until the bourgeoisie are ripe to join them.

On Tuesday next, the affair of the foreign correspondents is to come before the Court of Correctional Police. Some of the accused, as I have told you before, are cited for having been members of secret societies; and, after the precedent of the Lyons tribunal, if they are condemned on that charge to one month's imprisonment, they are liable to be re-condemned by the civil authorities to ten years' transportation to Cayenne. One of them, René de Rovigo, is also accused of having distributed, at Tortoni's, five-franc pieces, on which the effigy of Bonaparte was depicted.

A rumour is current here to-day that the dispute between Piedmont and Austria, on the subject of the sequestration of the property of the Lombards naturalized in Piedmont, has become menacing in the ex-

treme. Austria, it is said, has rejected the ultimatum of Piedmont, and the latter has recalled its Ambassador from Vienna.

With regard to affairs at Constantinople, the latest news we have is of the 24th ult. Prince Menschikoff up to that day had let nothing transpire of his ulterior projects. All that is known is, that he has had several conferences with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He also had on the 19th ult. a confidential audience of the Sultan. One circumstance only is known: it is relative to the attempts that have been made to obtain of the Sultan a categorical answer to the autograph letter of the Emperor Nicholas, which was remitted to him by Prince Menschikoff, immediately after his first audience. It is believed that the Sultan positively refused to give an answer in the terms desired, on the pretext that he could not make engagements without cognizance of his Council, or come to a decision upon the points which should form the subject of ulterior negotiations. Prince Menschikoff was expected from one day to another to send in his ultimatum. What lent probability to this expectation was the fact that Vice-Admiral Corniloff, commanding the fleet in the Black Sea, and General Nikapotsky, commanding the 5th Corps d'Armée, and several other persons who had gone to Constantinople rather to reconnoitre the place than for any other purpose, have just received orders to return immediately to their posts. Moreover, the Army of the Danube, which consisted of 70,000, has been reinforced by a new division of 15,000 men—forming an effective force of 85,000 men.

The French fleet should by this time be in or near the "Greek waters," and it is thought in Paris that the English fleet will not long remain at anchor in Malta harbour.

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#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

**SWITZERLAND** is not only threatened by Austria on the Italian frontier, but by the King of Prussia in Neufchâtel, which rejected the honour of a Principality in 1848.

The *Basile Gazette*, of the 31st ult., says it is assured that the protocol of London (the work of Lord Malmesbury) relative to Neufchâtel, has been completed by an additional article, declaring that the King of Prussia may assert his rights according to the law of nations, and by the force of arms.

Lord Malmesbury, we find, has committed England, pledged to non-intervention, to the defence, not of the independence of Switzerland, one of the firmest guarantees of the peace of Europe, but to the assertion of certain titular pretensions of the Prussian Crown to the Canton which in 1848 resolved to throw off even the fiction of a divided allegiance.

There is a report of an intended league of the Southern German Governments to form a blockade against Switzerland.

The replies of the Federal Government to Austria on the subject of the expulsion of the Ticinese are decisive and firm, but they contain insinuations against the Piedmontese Government equally ungenerous and impolitic; since the cause of Switzerland and Piedmont is essentially the same. It is thought, however, in some quarters, that Austria shows signs of relenting to Switzerland, and as the dispute with Piedmont waxes fiercer, Marshal Radetzky is instructed to negotiate directly with the Federal Commissioner, Colonel Bourgeois.

There have been rumours of an entire change of Austrian policy in Italy; that Radetzky was to be recalled, regular civil government established, and a general amnesty proclaimed. These measures were said to be the fruits of an Imperial family council at Vienna, at which Councillor Savotti, who, in 1821, prosecuted Silvio Pellico and other conspirators, gave his opinion in favour of clemency, and was supported by the Archdukes. These rumours, too good to be true, are contradicted by facts. Austria has positively refused to listen to the protests of the Sardinian Government against the sequestration of the estates of the naturalized Lombard refugees; and Count Revel was preparing to leave Vienna. Piedmont is preparing its fortifications on the Po.

The conspiracy at Berlin, according to letters of the 4th inst., had assumed alarming proportions. House searches were hourly going on. About 80 persons had been arrested; but many of these had been released. Firearms, ammunition, and projectiles have been found concealed in large quantities; and men of note in all parts are implicated. "It is evident," says the correspondent of a morning contemporary, "that among the working classes preparations had been making for a long time past for a possible outbreak, and small but regular subscriptions kept up for the last two or three years, supplied the sinews of war." There is no evidence to convict the instigators, but there is no doubt the plot was in earnest, and the quiet of Prussia rests upon a quicksand. The police have been actively searching, not only at Berlin, but at Königsberg, Heidelberg, Bremen, and Rostock (in Mecklenburg); in the last-named place, correspondence and concealed ammunition are said to have been seized. Herr Schwartz, a merchant of that town, has been arrested. The factory of Herr Brockemann has been occupied by the police. A quantity of grenades was found in that factory. Dr. Ladeffert, who is described as one of the chief conspirators, has been arrested near Frankfort-on-Oder. M. Behrends, ex-deputy, and M. Streckfus, have been set at liberty. The sick and benefit clubs of the working classes at Berlin are dissolved, under suspicion of democratic organization.

The Zollverein treaty has been signed by all the Pleni-

potentiaries. The commercial treaty between Austria and Prussia has also received their adhesion.

Polish nationality has just sustained another shock from its arch-enemy the Czar. By an imperial ukase just issued, all persons claiming to belong to the nobility of Poland are to send in the evidence on which they base their pretensions, when those who shall be recognised as of noble blood will be incorporated into the Russian peerage, while those who fail to make good their claims, will be forbidden to assume noble titles.

The Sardinian Chamber of Deputies has adopted the bill on the slave trade by 70 against 33 votes.

It will be remembered that M. Montanari was one of the last party executed at Mantua. Directly after the execution (says the *Gazetta del Popolo*), the Government called upon his surviving brother, Count Montanari, to pay within twenty-four hours the sum of 27 thousand lire, the cost of seizing, trying, and hanging his brother, although the Government had previously confiscated the estates of its victim.

The *Bologna Gazette* states that six persons were executed at Pesaro on the 18th ult., having been convicted of homicide from party-spirit in 1849 or 1850.

News from Madrid of April 2nd, announces that on that day the Senate decided by a majority of eight votes against further deliberation on the complaint of Marshal Narvez.

The Countess de Montijo, whose arrival in Madrid has been announced, was the bearer of presents from the Empress of the French to some of her relatives: amongst them were a magnificent pearl for the Duke de Alba, and a very rich bracelet for the Duchess de Alba, her Majesty's sister.

The Portuguese Chambers have been sitting for three months, and have not even voted an address to the throne.

An ample apology is said to have been received by Mr. Craufurd, through the Foreign Office, from the Tuscan authorities, for his expulsion from Leghorn. No objection is made to Mr. Craufurd's return to Tuscany.

#### STATE OF CUBA.

The steam ship *Isabel* had arrived at Charleston with dates from Havannah to the 23rd of March. It was rumoured that serious disturbances had taken place at St. Iago de Cuba, or some other port in the eastern department of the island. The whole company of soldiers called out to witness the punishment of one of their comrades revolted and fled. Fifteen of them were captured and condemned to death, but the sentence would not be executed for fear of a general revolt of the troops. Another lot of slaves had been landed on the island.

The American papers publish the particulars of another outrage on the United States' flag by the Cuban authorities. The Baltimore schooner *Manchester*, when about 20 miles east of Cape Antonio, was boarded by a boat's crew of 12 men belonging to a Spanish frigate, who took possession of the vessel and conveyed her inside the reef, and after overhauling her papers, broke open the hatches, took out about a third of the cargo, and opened the consignees letters. The cause of these proceedings was a suspicion that the vessel was conveying arms and ammunition for the revolutionists. After a detention of 24 hours, the Spaniards demanded 30 dollars of the captain for piloting inside the reef, and then left him to find his way out on the best manner he could.

#### THE BORNEAN PIRATES.

The *Times* supplies information of an outbreak of the Dyaks, and the death of a gallant young Englishman at their hands, received by private letter.

"I shall now attempt to give you some of the particulars of a most unfortunate occurrence that has befallen us. Rentab had for several months past been collecting a ballah and taunting Brereton. About a fortnight ago he sent word to Gasim and Lingi, and the others who had been friendly with Brereton, that unless they joined him and forced their way to sea, he would attack their houses and take all their property. Brereton, upon this, determined to go up the river and defend their houses. He sent for Lee and the Balows and the Batang Lapurs, and collecting as large a force as he could, proceeded to Bandang's house, which he hastily fortified. Rentab came down with only two boats, was fired into, and ran away. Brereton and Lee rushed to their boats, and followed by one other Malay boat, and a few Balows in sampans, pursued the retreating foe. The boats soon scattered, and on the leading boat suddenly turning a sharp point of the river, she was received with a shower of spears, and four huge bankongs lying in wait were upon her before her crew could get at their guns. They fought, however, most gallantly, till Lee came up and took off the attention of two of the enemy. Lee shot with his gun two men, right and left, but had no time to re-load. Brereton's fire also killed several men, but his boat was soon swamped alongside the gigantic bankong of Rentab, and he and her crew got to the shore without a weapon. Boat, guns, rifles, everything fell into the Dyak hands. While this was going on, the Balows, who fought well at first, finding they had no chance in their small boat, and with twenty-seven of their number wounded, gave way in all directions. Lee's men, some killed and many wounded, after vainly urging their leader to fly, jumped overboard, with the exception of four, who gallantly stuck to him till all were wounded. They begged and prayed him to jump overboard, and get ashore. Though desperately wounded, the gallant fellow fought on, saying he would never run away—he would die, but never be shamed by running; and as his last follower jumped overboard, Lee was seen to spring sword in hand into Rentab's

boat, where he was soon despatched; and so we have lost as gallant and noble an English gentleman as ever stepped. I think you scarce knew him—he was shy and retired at first, but on acquaintance he much improved, and has endeared himself to all by many admirable qualities. Every one in Sarawak, including Malays, deeply feel his loss; he was a great favourite with all; his courage was Spartan. The news from Kanowit is also unsatisfactory. Briah Hiah got past the fort, with a large ballah, and has gone up the Rajang. Kum Nipa has been trying to get up a combined attack on the fort, and it is said Pa Lambung, of Sarebas, is preparing a tremendous ballah for the same object. I have despatched the *Badger*, with orders to Steele to take every precaution, and with supplies of muskets and ammunition, also strict orders not to quit his fort. I much fear Kanowit, Sarebas, and Sakarran will break out this season; there are evident signs of it. St. John has asked for a steamer, but I shall not rely on his getting one—we must defend ourselves, and, thank God, our people are ready and willing. If the Dyaks should break out now, the mischief will be terrible, not only to the rapidly-rising trade, but to hundreds of unsuspecting people who are fishing and farming on the banks of the rivers, almost to the sea."

Brereton and Lee were in charge of forts erected by Sir James Brooke after the destruction of the pirate fleet of Sarebas and Sakarran, in 1849. Mr. Brereton escaped to Sarawak. We learn from a conversation in the House of Commons, that Lord Clarendon has ordered the admiral on the station to proceed at once, investigate the affair, and protect British commerce.

#### THE REVENUE.

NO. I.—AN ABSTRACT OF THE NET PRODUCE OF THE REVENUE OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN THE YEARS AND QUARTERS ENDED APRIL 5, 1852, AND APRIL 5, 1853, SHOWING THE INCREASE OR DECREASE THEREOF.

Years ended April 5.

	1852.	1853.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
Customs.....	18,827,823	18,513,189	...	143,639
Excise.....	13,182,636	13,385,493	202,800	...
Stamps.....	5,901,526	6,429,025	527,499	460,555
Taxes.....	3,691,226	3,194,271	...	...
Property Tax.....	5,233,800	5,533,043	309,243	...
Post Office.....	1,051,000	1,045,000	...	6,000
Crown Lands.....	190,000	252,000	62,000	...
Miscellaneous.....	192,000	271,514	79,514	...
Total Ord. Rev.....	48,320,078	48,083,540	1,181,066	617,591
Imprest and other Money.....	522,686	714,718	192,632	...
Repayments of Advances.....	740,643	1,114,548	364,905	...
Total income.....	49,591,807	50,512,806	1,738,593	817,594
Deduct Decrease.....			817,594	
Increase on the Year.....			920,999	

Quarters ended April 5.

	1852.	1853.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
Customs.....	4,615,025	4,832,832	217,807	182,193
Excise.....	2,070,064	2,098,581	28,517	...
Stamps.....	1,515,985	1,657,749	141,764	183,572
Taxes.....	295,048	111,476	...	...
Property Tax.....	2,068,827	2,152,233	83,406	...
Post Office.....	259,000	282,000	23,000	...
Crown Lands.....	80,000	72,000	...	8,000
Miscellaneous.....	41,733	19,518	...	22,215
Total Ord. Rev.....	10,945,682	10,826,389	276,687	395,980
Imprest and other Money.....	140,411	221,000	80,585	...
Repayments of Advances.....	88,608	171,859	83,251	...
Total Income .....	11,174,731	11,219,344	440,593	395,980
Deduct Decrease.....			395,980	
Increase on the Quarter.....			44,613	

NO. II.—THE INCOME AND CHARGE OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND, IN THE QUARTERS ENDED APRIL 5, 1852 AND 1853.

Quarters ended April 5.

	1852.	1853.
	£	£
Customs.....	4,633,267	4,451,238
Excise.....	2,078,171	2,105,331
Stamps.....	1,515,985	1,657,749
Taxes.....	295,048	111,476
Property Tax.....	2,068,827	2,152,233
Post Office.....	259,000	282,000
Crown Lands.....	80,000	72,000
Miscellaneous.....	41,733	19,518
Imprest and other Money.....	18,631	113,558
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores .....	121,810	107,538
Repayments of Advances .....	88,608	171,859
	11,201,080	11,244,500

	CHARGE.
	£
Permanent Debt .....	5,490,533
Terminable Annuities .....	1,270,788
Interest on Exchequer-bills, issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund.....	...
Sinking Fund .....	681,599
The Civil List .....	99,251
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund .....	320,201
For Advances .....	236,576
Total Charge .....	8,107,898
The Surplus .....	3,063,182
	7,885,216
	3,359,284
	11,201,080
	11,244,500

TITHE LITIGATION IN LONDON.  
NEARLY 200 inhabitant householders of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, were summoned before Mr. Corrie, at Clerkenwell, at the instance of the Rev. Dr. Worthington, rector of Holy Trinity Chapel, in the parish of St.

Andrew, Holborn, to show cause why they refused to pay the composition tithe rates accruing and arising in the said district of Holy Trinity. The court was crowded to excess on Tuesday, and considerable interest was manifested. Mr. Hawkins, the barrister, instructed by Mr. Curwood, attended for the prosecution; and Mr. Stammers, instructed by Mr. Clarke, for the defence. The Rev. Dr. Worthington was also in attendance.

The first summons heard was that issued against Mr. Henry Mack, of No. 8, High Holborn.

Mr. Hawkins in opening the proceedings, said, the defendant was sued by the Rev. Dr. Worthington, for a claim of two tithe-rates amounting to 8s., due on the 25th of March, and in a lengthened speech explained the law upon the subject. For the last hundred years the tithe had been paid in the parish, and he could prove Dr. Worthington's title with respect to them from ancient houses similar to the defendant's. He called William Beckley, deputy rate-collector, who produced a plan of Holy Trinity Chantry from the registry of the Bishop of London, also two deeds between the Rev. Mr. Robinson and others of the 5th of February, 1850, to the curate of Holy Trinity. Mr. Mogoni said he saw the two deeds (now produced) executed by the Revs. Mr. Robinson and Dr. Worthington, on the one part, and the Rev. Mr. Pizay and the Rev. Mr. Toogood on the other. Shortly after, the deeds were executed by the Duke of Buccleuch, the patron of the living, and the Bishop of London. He was present at the induction. Frederick Nichols saw the deeds executed by the Duke of Buccleuch. Mr. Buckle, estate agent, of Wilmington-square, Clerkenwell, said he had collected tithes from the year 1839 to 1845, and claimed the rates annually. The defendant had refused to pay twice.

Charles Foster made a demand of defendant for 4s. 7d., in 1851 or 1852, as the tithe due to the Rev. Dr. Worthington, and he declined to pay it. He said, that Dr. Worthington had a warm birth, and he should like to make him (witness) and the doctor "hotter." (Laughter.)

Dr. Worthington (rising from his seat): That is Mr. Mack.

Mr. Stammers: Pray what are you?—Witness: I am sexton.

Mr. Stammers: Pray, is not the Church of Holy Trinity in the parish of St. Pancras?—Witness: No.

Mr. Stammers: Who told you so?—Witness: Why, Mother Church. (A laugh.)

Mr. Stammers: Well, tell us what Mother Church told you?—Witness: The collector told me, and that's the same as Mother Church.

In answer to further questions, he said when they were seated inside Holy Trinity they were in St. Andrew's parish, but when they got outside on the kerbstone they were in St. Pancras.

The Rev. Dr. Worthington having been sworn, said that he was perpetual curate of Holy Trinity. The Rev. Mr. Robinson ceased to be rector. He is dead. He (Dr. Worthington) and the Rev. Mr. Toogood were present at the induction.

By Mr. Stammers: Holy Trinity was not in the parish of St. Pancras. The ground was consecrated.

Mr. Stammers contended that the production of the copy of the plan, &c., from the Bishop of London's Registry was not legal evidence—the originals ought to have been brought before the bench. He also urged that the locality of Holy Trinity was in St. Pancras, and not in St. Andrew's parish. The learned gentleman addressed the bench at considerable length, submitting that his objection ought to be considered, and that the subject of tithes called loudly for reform.

Mr. Corrie said he would take time to consider the subject, and look attentively over the law which had been referred to, and he would give his decision a week hence.

Mr. Ashby, of 9, High Holborn, was the next case heard. Mr. Clarke adopted a similar line of defence to that in Mr. Mack's case.

Mr. Corrie then said he would postpone the further hearing of the cases, and give his judgment in Mr. Mack's case in a week.

The parties then left the court.

#### JOURNAL OF RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

RAILWAY accidents are not a marked "feature" in the history of the week; but there has been some business done in that "line."

At the Liverpool assizes, Mr. Higham, a farmer, obtained 37l. 10s. 6d. damages, for injury done to his crops and turf by the sparks emitted from an engine passing at unusual speed. Mr. Baron Martin said he was of opinion that the engine was run at great speed, and so damage was done to the property joining the railroad, and that those who caused the engineer to run at such a speed were liable to all damage arising from it.

There were two accidents on Friday week. On the Prestatyn branch of the Chester and Holyhead line, a mail train, which was "most providentially," saith the reporter, without either passengers or bags (owing to a gale which blew briskly the previous night, and which delayed the mail boat on its passage from Ireland), came into violent collision with a number of trucks standing on the line at Prestatyn. During the gale these trucks, which were empty, had been blown from their siding, and the train came at full speed upon them. The engine was broken and rendered useless, the first carriage smashed, and the others much damaged. The driver, fireman, and guard, escaped without material injury. A delay of more than three hours occurred in consequence of the accident in the delivery of the mail between Prestatyn and Holyhead.

On the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, a heavy goods train, going full speed, came into collision with a cattle truck that was standing crosswise on the main line, within 200 yards of the Workop station, on the Sheffield side. So great was the shock that seven of the foremost trucks were thrown off the line, and two of them, with the engine and tender, were precipitated violently down a very steep embankment, a depth of thirty feet. The driver and fireman, not having had time to leap off,

were hurled down the steep descent, and had a narrow escape of being crushed to death by the ponderous engine and tender that accompanied them in the fall. The cattle-truck that caused the obstruction was shivered into fragments, and two of the goods wagons were smashed to almost the same extent. It is said that the "wind," which was very strong, propelled the truck from a siding upon the main line, but one of the company's servants states that on the previous evening he secured it on the siding by blocking the wheels. Therefore either the servant states what is not true, or he did his work badly, or somebody removed the blocking.

Dawlish was the scene of a real "accident" on Monday. The scene was near Breeches Rock, where the landslip took place some time since. A temporary siding had been made, and rails laid down to enable men to remove the earth which they were cutting from the cliff; but when any train was due they were removed. The superintendence of this siding was given to a man named John Munk, whose duty it was to see to the due removal of the temporary rails: and for that purpose time bills were hung up on the walls of a small hulk near where he was working. This system had been going on for a month, and nothing had happened; but on Monday morning, when the 7.30 a.m. train passed down, the temporary rails had not been removed. The consequence was that the engine ran off the line into the rubbish adjoining, and when stopped by the courage of the driver, was only within a few feet of the edge of the sea wall. Munk was apprehended, taken before the magistrates, charged with neglect of duty, and fined 5l.

#### SHIPWRECK—SHAMEFUL CARELESSNESS—DEATH.

ENGLAND is acquiring an unenviable position as the nation which is constantly warned and never prepared. For culpable neglect and a rash disregard of precautions we are as remarkable as for our pluck in moments of extremity, and self-sacrifice when the evil is almost past redress. In illustration, take the two latest disasters at sea:—

The first case is that of the *Minerva* steamer, which sailing on the night of Tuesday week from Liverpool to Belfast, ran down a schooner. The circumstances of the case are reported differently by different witnesses. The account of three independent witnesses is as follows:—Tuesday night was clear, hazy at a distance; but there was sufficient brightness to see for two miles. At a quarter to eleven the *Minerva* was half way between the Calf of Man and the South Rock lighthouse, and going at the rate of twelve knots an hour. Neither captain nor mate was on deck; a "look-out" was stationed on the bridge. Captain Lyall was the captain of the steamer; but Captain Duncan, a seaman, was on board and on deck. He suddenly called out, "Do you see that vessel there?" and he had scarcely spoken when a schooner, with lights, was seen close to the steamer, on its path; and in a few minutes more a crash was heard, as the steamer struck the schooner right abaft the fore rigging. Captain Duncan rushed forward; he saw the schooner sinking; and ran to get ropes and boxes to fling overboard to the crew. He distinctly saw men swimming hard towards the paddle-box of the steamer; a lowered boat could have saved them; but the *Minerva* boats were fast, and the *Minerva* crew slow; the swimmers sank. The mast of the schooner fell against the side of the steamer. Some of the crew of the schooner clinging to the mast strove to climb up the sides of the steamer. A passenger leant over the bulwark, stretching out his hand to help them up; but at that moment the *Minerva* backed (the engines having been reversed after the collision), and the poor wretches, who had been within a hand's breadth of safety, were drowned. The captain of the steamer gives a brief official account. He does not state that he was on deck; "all that he observed was that the schooner had two masts, and that no light was shown until immediately before the accident took place." Captain Duncan, who, according to all the witnesses, saw the schooner first, states positively that she had the proper number of lights. But a chief circumstance was the impracticable situation of the steamer's boats. According to one witness "it occupied twenty minutes before the boats could be lowered." Twenty minutes! while men were swimming for their lives, and struggling with death before their eyes! "The boats were so securely locked that one could sail round Cape Horn with them." A man was wanting to cut the lashings of the boats; none could be had for some time; when it was procured the ropes were so stiff in the pulleys at one side that one boat was suddenly lowered stern foremost, at the near risk of flinging its occupants into the sea. According to the testimony of one of the witnesses examined at a Belfast investigation of the affair, this is the usual way in which boats are fastened in all the Channel steamers; accidents being apparently the only thing not provided for on board those well-appointed ships. The *Minerva* went on its way, not having sustained the slightest damage, and came into Belfast at half-past four on Wednesday morning. The schooner, unknown, was never heard of more; and its crew, equally obscure, perished, as we have been told, within sight of their fellow-men, and within reach of boats so well secured that they could not be used.

The captain of the *Minerva*, the mate, and the look-out man, are to be tried for their conduct, and at present are out on bail.

The second catastrophe occurred on yesterday (Friday) week. Aberdeen harbour has long been accounted unsafe. Owing to the northerly direction of the Channel, vessels coming from the south have to turn sharp round in coming in, else they would go ashore on the pier-head. The difficulty of entrance was increased on Friday by the southerly wind and the mountain flood of the river.

At half-past five the *Duke of Sutherland* steamer, from London, hove in sight, and made for the harbour.

It was a bleak and rainy evening, and the wind blew hard, still some people were on the pier to meet their friends. The sea rolled high, but the grand ship battled bravely with it, and came majestically in—mastering the swelling waves as she rounded the headland. But ere one could count ten a single wave carried her to leeward, and a second dashed her against the rocks at the head of the pier. Her bow stuck fast: the sea moved her stern into deep sea; and then turning her broadside to the waves she lay a helpless log upon the water. In a few minutes the news spread through the town; and the beach was soon crowded with people. They saw the fine ship lying helpless within a few yards of the head of the pier; its crew in the forecastle endeavouring to lower the life boat; the passengers on the poop, clinging to the netting of the rails and the stanchions as the ship rolled from side to side. The captain stood on the bridge giving orders. Round the ship raged a boiling sea—wave after wave washing the decks and dashing over the pier-head—while a soothng surf separated it from the shore. The seamen of the ship first lowered the starboard life-boat, and manned it themselves; the boat was capsized, but the people on shore dashed out to the rescue—and by a chain of linked hands all of that party were saved. Deeper sank the stern of the ship, the sea rapidly breaking up the fore part. Wave after wave washed away some one of the passengers. From the shore the sight was terribly painful. The ship was so near that one could easily discern the pale faces of the men and women, who held on by every rail, or stanchion—and some of the townspeople recognised their friends and relatives amongst those on board. A life-boat, maned by twelve hardy seamen, now put off from the shore; it worked its way through the surf, but it could not come close to the wreck, as the sea would have dashed it to pieces against the iron sides of the ship. The passengers had therefore to leap into the sea towards the boat; some failed to reach it, others succeeded, and with a full cargo the boat reached the shore in safety. Again and again did she endeavour to make a second voyage to the ship, but failed. Dr. Sutherland, who witnessed the wreck, says:—"At this time the quarter-deck of the ship was completely deserted, with the exception of one female, who clung tenaciously to a fragment of the rail. My heart sickens when I contemplate her lifeless form entangled in the stanchions, while the waves often hid her from our eyes which we dared not turn away." The ship now broke in two; the bow was torn sheer from the waist, and was drifted up the harbour, while the main part remained hard and fast upon the rocks. A fishing boat with six men, one of whom was a mate, saved a moment before, attempted to reach the wreck; but when she neared the steamer, and was thus exposed to the full fury of the wind and current, she was whirled away in little more than a minute. Two passengers leaped towards her, one was taken up; the boat attempted to return, but a heavy wave completely swamped her; she sank, amid the shrieks of the crowd, and of the gallant fellows who manned her but one was saved. The ship was now being rapidly broken up. The masts had gone early; the bow followed; in about half an hour afterwards the stern and quarter-deck were swept away. Nothing remained but the middle part of the ship with the starboard paddle-box, on which the survivors of the crew, reduced to some dozen persons or so, were gathered; their persons could be distinctly recognised from the shore, and their screams rose above the noise of the sea. An attempt to effect communication with the ship by means of a rope was now made. Captain Manby's apparatus was used; after many failures, the blazing rocket rose high in the air and flew past the ship, having a line attached which it flung right across the funnel. Some passengers—ladies among them—having been fastened to the rope by means of small lines, were towed across in safety. At an early period of the catastrophe, many persons were observed rushing to the life-buoys and other apparatus for saving life that were to be found on board. One person excited a considerable interest. He was observed three different times to put a life-buoy round his waist, and go to the ship-side as if with the intention of leaping over, and as often to divest himself of the apparatus, as if at the critical moment his resolution failed him. On the last occasion he disappeared from view. We do not know if it was the same individual who was seen some time afterwards apparently clinging to the stakes of a net that was fixed in the sea, thoroughly exhausted and incapable of making further exertion. His situation excited general sympathy; but a seaman belonging to her Majesty's ship *Archer* (now lying in the harbour), who was standing on the pier, with extraordinary bravery leaped right off into the surf, and made his way to the man. His gallantry was fruitless, beyond the universal admiration its brilliancy excited; the man was found to be dead, and not clinging to, but entangled by the net. There were fifty persons on board; of these, sixteen perished, while five of the crew of the fishing-boat were lost.

It has been said that the captain, the crew, and the male passengers behaved badly. The mate and a portion of the crew used the first boat that left the ship. The captain was one of the first to attempt to reach shore by the rope, while many remained on board; but some bear testimony to his coolness in giving orders. And the male passengers preceded the females in taking advantage of the means of safety. Duncan Christie, the steward, is the only person reported as having shown consideration for others. He was of use in preserving order and in saving the women, and he was the last to leave the ship.

The ready way in which the population of the locality became "wreckers," is noticed. The goods washed in were made away with at once. The cargo was worth 20,000*l.*, and was uninsured. But the worst circumstance of this event is the fact, that there was neither proper accessories nor proper agents for the

working of the Manby's apparatus. There was at first delay in getting the apparatus, then mistakes in working it, and then deficiencies in itself. And all these blunders were going on while more than a score of people were clinging to the breaking ship, within sight of the shore. Before the apparatus was got ready, most of the passengers not saved by the boats were drowned!

## MISCELLANEOUS.

ENGLAND has another Prince. For some time the event which occurred at Buckingham Palace, on Thursday, has been daily expected. Nevertheless Queen Victoria, with true British courage, has been constant in taking carriage exercise. Nor has she given up her favourite public amusement—the Theatre—having been at the French Plays, on Monday. Even so late as Wednesday afternoon, her Majesty visited the Duchess of Gloucester.

The event took place the next day, at ten minutes past one o'clock, when the Queen was safely delivered of a Prince.

There were present on the occasion in her Majesty's room, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, Dr. Locock, Dr. Snow, and Mrs. Lilly, the monthly nurse. In the adjoining apartments, besides the other medical attendants (Sir James Clark and Dr. Ferguson), were the Duchess of Kent, the Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Granville, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Duke of Argyll, Viscount Palmerston, and the Lord Chancellor.

At once the Park and Tower guns fired the customary salute. At three o'clock a Privy Council was held, and a form of thanksgiving to be prepared by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and said in all the churches was ordered.

Her Majesty and the infant are doing remarkably well.

Mr. Thomas S. Duncombe's motion, upon the prolonged French and Austrian occupation of Italy, stands over for a few weeks. Monday next was the day fixed, but it has been thought advisable to allow more time for the organization of the Petition Movement in its favour. We earnestly recommend all who are concerned for the cause of Italy to lose no time in applying to the Office of the Society of the Friends of Italy, 10, Southampton-street, Strand, for forms of the Petition; and to spare no efforts in getting the Petition influentially signed, and properly attested, in their several localities.

The Reverend William Charles Lake, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, who behaved with so much courage on the election of Lord Derby to the Chancellorship, and on the elections of Mr. Gladstone, retired from office, on Wednesday. In doing so, he made a speech, in Latin, on the events of his terms of office, and after alluding to Wellington's death and Lord Derby's election, he passed to more common University topics.

He spoke of the new studies, and the results which might be hoped from them, and congratulated the University that Mr. Hallam should have taken so lively an interest in them as to become one of the examiners. The commotion into which the appearance of the blue-book of the commissioners had thrown the University, and the hopes and fears which different persons entertained, were discussed; and also the heat of the two fierce elections, one of which had set the place on fire for fourteen days. He begged the University not to discard a great man from being its member because he would not bind himself to electioneering pledges or mere party action; speaking briefly but earnestly of the real honour and advantage which Mr. Gladstone conferred upon the University. He paid high compliments both to the late and present Vice-Chancellor, and gave a description, which excited a great deal of amusement, of the difficulties and varieties of a proctor's life. He ended by speaking of the prospects of the University, and exhorted them to retain the principles of their moral and religious teaching, and their academic liberty, but not to be afraid of alterations which did not violate those principles. Oxford, he said, as the great instructor of the greatest of countries, was in the highest of all positions as a teacher; and he exhorted the University, while acting calmly and deliberately, not to disappoint the just expectations of the nation.

The agricultural strike at Chipping-Warden has been successful. The employers, assenting to the wishes of the labourers, have given them the additional shilling per week asked for. A peaceable return to work was the result.

Wages continue to have an upward tendency. At Manchester, the railway porters, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire, have obtained an advance of ten per cent. Strikes partially continue, at Bristol; but many of the masters have granted the demands of the men. At Sunderland, the shipwrights have asked for an advance, by circular, in a very business-like way. They would not accept less than five shillings a day, after the 9th.

If acceded to, and there seemed every prospect of it, the shipwrights would have obtained an advance of a shilling a day in two months.

The strikes of operatives, in different branches of woollen manufactures, have, in most instances, been either terminated or prevented, by proper concessions on both sides. The movement has reached Ireland and Scotland; and everywhere we hear of prosperity. Government, however, has declined to increase the savers' wages at Plymouth.

Mrs. Charles Saville Wallack has announced a Musical Lecture and Entertainment, at Blagrove's Concert Rooms, for Monday evening next. The title, "The Voice, or how to make singer," illustrated vocally, suggests quite a novel and instructive public amusement. We believe Mrs. Wallack was formerly a promising pupil of the Royal Academy.

The Earl of Carlisle, in returning from the festivities which attended his inauguration at Aberdeen, was presented with the freedom of the City of Edinburgh.

Viscount Enfield has been summoned to the House of Peers by the title of Baron Strafford of Harmondsworth, in the county of Middlesex.

In consequence of the death of Lord Skelmersdale, the meeting of Conservative members of Parliament, which was to have taken place at Lord Derby's on Monday next [Mr. Wilbraham was created Lord Skelmersdale in 1823. His youngest daughter is the Countess of Derby], has been postponed until the ensuing Saturday.—*Standard*.

The chairmanship of committees, vacated by the resignation of Mr. Wilson Patten, will probably be succeeded by the Hon. E. P. Bouvier.

Nothing daunted by the report of the commission which unseated their members, the dauntless friends of "W. B." at Maldon are going to entertain the unfortunate Ducane and the unfortunate Miller at a banquet. It is the apotheosis of corruption in Essex. Let "W. B." be chairman.

The Bishop of Oxford laid the foundation stone of a new Theological College, near Cuddesdon, on Thursday.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe, we regret to hear, is prevented by illness from visiting England this "season." [A later report says she may come.]

A Board of Ordnance, comprising Lord Raglan, the Master-General, Sir John Burgoyne, Inspector-General of Fortifications, &c., visited Portsmouth and Gosport yesterday, and made an inspection of the batteries and works connected with the port of Portsmouth.

There is some talk of another large meeting on India at Manchester. At the last the cotton-kings did not get beyond "India as a cotton and commercial question." It is said they now propose to consider whether Government should legislate at once, or pass a provisional renewal of the present system.

The Society for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Poor, under the presidency of Lord Ingester, intend to inaugurate the laying of the first stone of their new building on Tuesday, the 12th, by a dinner at the London Tavern. The Duke of Argyll will preside upon the occasion.

Active measures are still in progress for obtaining a free library in Marylebone. A meeting was held on Wednesday for the purpose. It appears that among the supporters of the scheme are the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Wellington and Argyll, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ashburnham, and Sir Alexander Cockburn.

Lord Palmerston is certainly in earnest with the London graveyards. Notices have been received by the authorities of the various parishes, that, on and after the 5th proximo, the undermentioned places of interment will be closed:—St. Margaret's, Lothbury, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, St. Bartholomew's Change, St. Edmund the King, with St. Nicholas Acons, Allhallowes the Great, Allhallowes the Less, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Mary Haggerston, in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch.

St. Botolph's has had a burial ground for 500 years in use. The yard is now some feet above the level of the street. Lord Palmerston has officially notified an intention to close it by an order in council.

It appears, from a return to Parliament, just issued, that the expense of the Oxford Commission defrayed last year was £220,4s., and of that relating to Cambridge, 400*l*.

The numbers attending the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House, during the month of March, were as follows:—12,037 persons on the public days, and admitted free; 1091 persons on the students' days, and admitted as students on the payment of 6*d*. each, besides the registered students of the classes and schools.

The sale of the properties and fittings of Her Majesty's Theatre recommenced on Thursday. An offer of the amount asked for the whole in one lot, viz., 11,000*l*., less the amount realized by the two days' sale which have already taken place, was immediately made. Mr. Scott, on behalf of the mortgagees in possession, immediately accepted the offer, and the proceedings terminated.

The contract for supplying the new copper coinage for Great Britain has been obtained by Messrs. Heaton and Son of Birmingham. The weight of coin required by the contract is no less than 500 tons, to be minted into pence, half-pence, farthings, and half-farthings, and—novel currency—quarter farthings. The copper is to be of the best quality, and the dies are to be supplied by the Mint. The operation of casting this vast weight of metal will not be commenced before the end of June, and when once begun Messrs. Heaton will not be required to furnish more than 80,000 pieces a-day. The same firm is also engaged to cast the new copper coinage of Canada and France.

Operations are about to be commenced on a portion of the Quantock-hills, Somersetshire, which bid fair to create

a mining district of some importance. The scene of these operations will be near Broomfield, and about six miles from Taunton. Although this movement is owing to a fresh discovery, it has been known for many years that these hills contain abundance of that very valuable mineral—copper. The matter has been taken up by men of capital, practical experience, ability, and energy, and sanguine expectations are entertained that a perpetual source of great wealth will be opened with the Broomfield mines.—*Times*.

The *Great Britain* arrived at Liverpool, from Australia, on Saturday evening. Although she brought no fresh news, her arrival had an intrinsic interest: she was anxiously expected in Liverpool, and when the guns announced her approach, thousands ran out, and hailed her passage up the river with loud cheers. Her passage home has occupied eighty-six days; her average speed was 18*miles* a day; on some days she made 24*7* and 24*8*. She brought 205 passengers, and 500,000*l*. in specie. All the passengers speak well of the arrangements, which would seem to show that an Australian steamer need not be dangerously damaged and excessively uncomfortable. Some of the passengers have been lucky adventurers. One man had made 20,000*l.* in ten months by keeping a public-house in Melbourne: another upwards of 30,000*l.* by a circus.

A singular story has been told at the Liverpool amusements. Elizabeth Wright, a young, well-looking girl of seventeen, lived as servant with Mr. Harwood, at Bolton. She was entirely uneducated. Her master having ascertained that she was carrying on a clandestine correspondence (the woman who betrayed the secret acting as amanuensis), he charged Mr. Miller, a rigid Methodist, and a middle-aged married man, with "a cold-blooded attempt to ruin" the girl. Mr. Miller replied to that in regard "to the proceedings with the name mentioned," (Elizabeth Wright) "modesty and kindness had been the only results," and that he "hoped Mr. Harwood would take no more notice of the affair, as it could do him no good to injure him." Mr. Harwood then indignantly detailed the proceedings of the Methodist, asking him in a long catechism, why he had asked the girl to write to him as "uncle," why desire her to meet him at Halsahmoor station, why send her a brooch, why tell her, when unwell, that he would pay the doctor, why tell her that his wife was intemperate and he unhappy, and why, finally, ask her to come and live with him in the bosom of his family? This correspondence led to exposure. The mother of the girl took the disgrace to heart, and has suffered severe illness from the shock. But by some means, not published, the family have been soothed; some say by a promise of marriage to be performed after the death of the Methodist's present wife. Mr. Harwood, however, is the father of a family, and, "acting upon principle," brought an action for the seduction of his servant-maid, "whereby he had lost her services." These statements came out on the trial. But the Judge did not consider the action maintainable: the plaintiff was therefore nonsuited, the counsel for the defendant incidentally stating that they were prepared to prove that the girl remained a pure virgin, and that if she was married even to Henry VIII. she would not be subject to pains and penalties.

A scoundrel, named Fossey, has behaved with shameful indecency to a married woman on the Greenwich railway. The affrighted woman jumped out of the carriage at the first station, and entered another. She complained to a gallant old gentleman, who jumped on to the platform, exclaiming, "Show me the man, and I'll punch his head." Fossey has been fined 40*s*.—a trifling penalty. But the magistrate had no power to inflict a higher.

George Sparkes, the murderer, was executed at Exeter on Friday week. About 10,000 persons—principally women—assisted at the scene.

The man Mackett was tried on Thursday for the murder of Eliza Len, by drowning her in the Regent's canal. When the jury were about to be locked up, one was taken ill, and it was found unsafe to lock him up. The jury were accordingly discharged, and the evidence will be repeated before a new jury.

Elizabeth Vickers, charged with the murder of the old gentleman named Jones, who lived at Brixton, has been acquitted at the Central Criminal Court.

Mr. Fores, the gentleman who was "possessed" to take two papers, has got off lightly. In consideration of his good character, the prosecutor withdrew his charges.

Great batches of cab-drivers have been summoned for violating the Austrian regulations issued by Sir Richard Mayne. In most cases the magistrates have been bound to convict, but in one case costs only were inflicted, and in another the infliction of a penalty was accompanied by censure of the regulations.

In consequence of the refractory conduct of the females in the Marylebone Workhouse, who, although supplied with situations as domestic servants, leave their places in a few days, and return to the workhouse, where they inoculate the other females with their evil propensities and vices, the house rota have recommended the board of guardians to adopt the separate system as regards those characters by keeping each in a cell by herself.

In an order lately issued by the Prefect of Calvados to close a low *café*, the following reason for doing so is assigned:—"Considering that, among other facts which have been clearly shown to us, three children, aged seven, eight, and eleven years, were served with coffee and spirituous liquors for the sum of 1*f. 35c.*, and that the woman who keeps the *café* herself gave them a match to light their pipes; that, furthermore, they were all drunk when they left the premises, the eldest having become so ill as to cause the greatest anxiety to his parents, &c."

Baker, the man who attempted to rob the house of Miss Kelly, has been transported for seven years.

## HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

Last week the deaths from all causes registered in London amounted to 1748. An increase so formidable on the already high mortality of previous weeks arises in part from the same causes that have lately prevailed with unusual force, and is also due, to some extent, to the influx into the register books of cases on which coroners had held inquests, and which have been permitted to accumulate during the quarter. The signature of that officer is necessary to complete the registration of deaths returned by him.

In the classification of deaths coroners' cases fall principally under the following heads—"poison," "burns and scalds," "hanging and suffocation," "drowning," "fractures," "wounds," and "sudden death;" and the increase, as regards their registration, occurring about the same periods, they do not materially interfere with the comparison of deaths in corresponding weeks. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52 the average number of deaths was 1027, which, with a correction for increase of population, gives a mortality for last week of 1130; or the corrected average for the previous week (the last of the quarter) may be taken, which was 1282. Hence it appears that the deaths registered last week exceed the estimated amount by more than 450, a result, the greater part of which must be referred to causes, of meteorological or other character, affecting the health of the population.

Last week the births of 1006 boys and 905 girls, in all 1900 children, were registered in London. In the eight corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52 the average number was 1411.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.733 in.; on Monday the mean daily reading was above 30 in. The mean temperature of the week was 43° 8 deg., which is near the average of the same week in 38 years. The mean daily temperature was below the average on the first three days, and above it during the rest of the week. The mean dew-point temperature was 32.8 deg. The wind, which had been in the north in the early part of the week, blew from the south-west in the last four days.

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

## BIRTHS.

On the 30th of March, at 4, Marion-place, Higher Broughton, near Manchester, the wife of Sciarlo M. Marvogordato, Esq.: a daughter.

On the 31st, at Corsham Court, Chippenham, Lady Methuen : a son.

On the 1st of April, at No. 33, Devonshire-place, the wife of Sir John W. H. Anson, Bart.: a daughter.

On the 3rd, at Wimborne, the wife of R. A. Long Phillips, Esq.: a son and heir.

On the 4th, at 20, South-street, Park-lane, the Hon. Mrs. Vesey Dawson : a son.

On the 5th, at Monastery-house, Canterbury, the wife of Captain Bellingham, Fiftieth Regiment: a son.

## MARRIAGES.

On the 10th of February, at Ostacumund, E.I., William M'Adam Stewart, eldest son of William Stewart, Esq., late of Glenmoriston, Peeblesshire, to Marion Isabella, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Coffin, Twelfth M.N.I.

On the 29th of March, at Thornton-le-Moors, the Rev. T. Townson Charlton, of Brasenose College, Oxford, Rector of West Shefford, Berks, son of the late Venerable Archdeacon Charlton, to Marianne, youngest daughter of the late Daniel Buchanan, Esq., of Liverpool, and of Douglas, Isle of Man.

On the 31st, at St. George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. Edward Southwell Russell, eldest son of the Baroness de Clifford, to Harriet Agnes, eldest daughter of Captain Charles Elliot, R.N., Governor of Bermuda.

On the 31st, at Christ Church, Streatham, the Rev. Vincent Raven, M.A., rector of Great Fransham, Norfolk, late President and Tutor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, to Anne Jemima, fourth daughter of J. M. Rainbow, Esq., of Guildford-lodge, Tulse-hill.

On the 5th of April, at Dinnington, Edward Walter, Esq., late Captain in the Eighth Hussars, and youngest son of the late John Walter, Esq., of Bear Wood, to Mary Anne Eliza, eldest daughter of John C. Athorpe, Esq., of Dinnington-hall, York-shire.

On the 7th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Abel Smith, jun., Esq., of Woodhall-park, Herts, to the Lady Susan Pelham, second daughter of the Earl of Chichester.

## DEATHS.

On the 18th of February, at Portarlington, Ireland, after a few days illness, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, Colonel J. C. Blisse Parke.

On the 6th of March, at Worthing, Barbadoes, the Lady Harris, in her twenty-second year.

On the 20th, at Munich, of nervous fever, David Hermann, Count Paumgarten, aged fifteen, grandson of the Right Hon. Lord Erskine.

On the 21st, at La Chine, Canada East, aged forty-one, Francis Ramsay, wife of Sir George Simpson, second daughter of the late Geddes McKenzie Simpson, Esq., of Great Tower-street, London, and Stamford-hill, Middlesex.

On the 30th, at Foot's Cray, in the ninety-third year of her age, Anne, widow of the late Heneage Tynden, Esq., and second daughter of the late Sir John Dixon Dyke, Bart., of Lullingstone Castle, Kent.

On the 30th, of bronchitis, Eleanor, youngest daughter of Ralph A. Thring, Esq., M.P.

On the 31st, at his residence, 131, Piccadilly, Lieutenant-General Cartwright, Bengal Army.

On the 31st, of rapid decline, the nineteenth year of her age, Emma Margaretta, second and youngest daughter of the late Hon. Chief Justice Doherty.

On the 31st, at 29, York-terrace, Regent's-park, Frances Jane, daughter of the late John Abernethy, Esq., F.R.S.

On the 31st, at Oaklands, Victoria-park, Charlotte, eighth daughter of James Kershaw, Esq., M.P., in the thirteenth year of her age.

On the 1st of April, at Westquarter, Falkirk, Admiral Sir Thomas Livingstone, Bart.

On the 1st, at Birkenhead, Cheshire, Selina Maria Bates, relic of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Bates, and daughter of Sir Robert Waller, Bart., county of Tipperary, aged seventy-five.

On the 3rd, at Lathom house, Lord Skelmersdale, in his eighty-third year.

On the 4th, at Brussels, Anne, Viscountess Lake, late wife of H. Gritton, Esq., and daughter of the late Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Bart., G.C.B.

On the 5th, at Strangford-house, Ireland, aged ninety-four, the Hon. Harriette Ward, daughter of Bernard, Viscount Bangor.

Lucas Paul Methuen, the infant son of Lord and Lady Methuen.

## The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1853.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—*Dr. Arnold.*

## MR. GLADSTONE'S PICKAXE FOR THE NATIONAL DEBT.

BUSINESS first and pleasure afterwards. Let us not only try to understand Mr. Gladstone's resolutions for the conversion of certain of the public stocks, but enable our readers to understand it, which may not be so easy. For, however lucid we may be in ourselves, there is the inseparable fog of the document itself—a triple fog of verbosity, since its language is parliamentary, legal, and fiscal. However, it is possible, and the thing is worth understanding. That accomplished, we may consider certain effects of the plan.

The National Debt consists of money owing to our ancestors for money which they lent, principally to enable Mr. Pitt to carry on his wars against republicanism and Bonapartism in Europe; and as he found great difficulty in raising money, sometimes, to attract lenders, he adopted the device of accepting a smaller sum, and pretending in the accounts that it was 100*l.* Much of the money we pay now every year was borrowed in that way. America has started the question, whether our forefathers, who fell in with that spendthrift plan, had really the power to oblige us also; an eminent English historian and moralist has maintained that our forefathers had no such power, and we agree with him. Nevertheless, in a country which adheres to laws for the protection of "credit"—laws for the sustenance of probity by statute!—even after it has abandoned laws for the protection of commerce, the maintenance of the national faith is an established dogma; and so we go on paying usury for the debts of our forefathers aforesaid. All the debts, however, were not incurred exactly in the same way, though all are jumbled together under the name of "stock." Of late years some simplicity has been introduced into the book-keeping of this stock, and Mr. Gladstone proposes a further simplification at little cost. The South Sea Company survives in the shape of a creditor to the amount of nearly 10,000,000*l.*; and there are two separate stocks very small in amount, making in all 10,000,000*l.* and a few odd pounds. All this class of stock Mr. Gladstone proposes to extinguish.

As there is an inextinguishable tenderness for the stockholder, however, Mr. Gladstone offers to the South Sea creditor four different modes of being obliterated; he may either be paid 100*l.* cash for every 100*l.* standing in his name, or he may take a new stock, with a nominally lower capital, 82*l.* 10*s.*, and an interest of 3*1/2* per cent., equivalent to about 2*1/2* per cent. of the original stock; or he may take a new stock, with a nominally higher capital, 110*l.*, at a lower interest, 2*1/2* per cent., equal to about the same; or he may take a new kind of security called Exchequer bonds, at 2*1/2* per cent. for ten years, and 2*1/2* per cent. afterwards. In either case the immediate result to him would be about the same. If he took the cash, he could buy the ordinary Three per cents., but then he would have to stand the chance of any conversion, or of any progress in the view indicated above, which questions the absolute right of the fundholder; and although contingencies of that sort are not sufficient to depreciate the value of the Three per Cents. to the extent of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., which is the difference between the old and the new securities, still the guarantee of the payment of 2*1/2* or 2*1/4* for the forty years' currency of the new securities has a decided value.

The seventh of the resolutions, however, gives an extended application to the new stock: the holders of the "Consols," or the "Consolidated Three per Centum Annuities," and of the Reduced, or "Reduced Three per Centum An-

nuities," are "permitted" to convert their stock on the same terms as the holders of the South Sea Stock, and the *Times* at once fastens on this enlarged provision as the weak point of the scheme. If all the holders of those two stocks, which form the principal part of the National debt, and amount in all to nearly 500,000,000*l.*, were to select the new Two-and-a-half per cents., with an increase of the nominal capital at the rate of 110*l.* for every 100*l.* it would add 10 per cent. to the capital of that part of the debt, and would increase it to the extent of 50,000,000*l.* Much criticism, accordingly, has fallen on this portion of the scheme, as "lavish," as "relieving ourselves at the expense of posterity," and so forth.

Now, this apprehension is a fear of that visionary and wild species that only haunts nurseries, Harz mountains and money markets. In the first place, even if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to relinquish all discretion, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that *all* the holders of the funds in question would desire to convert their Three per cent. stock into the other stock. A part of that consists of "the Suitors' Fund," which is moneys paid into the Court of Chancery, and liable to be paid out again, but meanwhile invested in the public stocks; this fund now amounts, we believe, to about 40,000,000*l.*, and is continually increasing. Another part of the Three per Cents. consists of moneys invested for charities; a third, of private trusts. All of these kinds have for a paramount object *permanency*; and in most cases they would not be exchanged for a stock which the Minister of the day in 1841 will have the power to pay off, whether the holder wishes or not. These reasons were apparent, even before Mr. Gladstone's explanation last night; and we only mention them to show how wild moneyed philosophers may grow on the subject which engrosses their imaginations. But every region of life has its poetry and its "night side of nature."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplates no such sweeping measure. The "patriarchal" South Sea Stocks are cleared away absolutely; a beginning is made in an advantageous conversion of the public debt, and a new species of transferable security is created. There have been conversions of the Debt before; and it is mainly from reductions of the annual payment, rather than reductions of the principal, that the taxes have been relieved so far as relates to the charge of the public debt. In 1815, just after the battle of Waterloo, the total amount of the debt was 885,000,000*l.*; in 1845 it was still barely under 856,000,000*l.* It was in 1844 that the last conversion was effected by Mr. Goulburn, who converted the 3*1/2* per cents.—including a capital of 248,700,000*l.*—into 3*1/4* per cent. guaranteed till 1854; and then at 3 per cent. for twenty years more. The saving thus effected was 525,000*l.* a year; and after next year it will be as much more, making 1,250,000*l.* in all. This plan was not opposed; and in making it, Mr. Goulburn almost prophetically put the principal objections to the new form of stock created by Mr. Gladstone into a very compact shape.

The House will agree with me that they have only three courses open to them of dealing with stock of description (Three-and-a-half per cents.) 1st. To give every holder of Three-and-a-half per cent. stock an equivalent of stock in the Three per cent., adding thereto the capital of the stock created. Another plan, very much entertained by the public, and on which much has been said in favour, is to create a Two-and-a-half per cent. stock, and give the holder of every 100*l.* in the Three-and-a-half per cent. such an amount of the Two-and-a-half per cent. stock as shall produce an interest of 3*1/2* per cent. per annum. The objections to these schemes are—to the first, that it would be necessary to give a certain bonus in the Three per cents., to ensure the conversion; so that, while the immediate result would be a saving of between 800,000*l.* and 900,000*l.* a-year, there would be an addition to the debt of from 10,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* To the second plan, still stronger objection, as the augmentation of the debt would be about 50,000,000*l.* for a saving of 12,000,000*l.* a-year. There only remained, then, the third plan—to reduce the Three-and-a-half per cents. to Three per cents., through the medium of a Three-and-a-quarter per cent. stock.

To these views, however, may be opposed very obvious arguments. In the first place, although it is true that an addition to the capital of the debt would be objectionable, the addition for the present is a mere matter of account. The in-

terest to be paid will be positively less, whatever the capital may be called. The value of money is continuing to fall; and unless Australia and California be suddenly closed up, it is most probable that in 1894 the Chancellor of the Exchequer will find the public creditor no very intractable animal. In the meanwhile, the public will be familiarized to the name of a "two-and-a-half per cent." stock; no inconsiderable matter with public which, except with a bait, dislikes new names, though it will accept new things, or even new ideas, if it does not know the novelty. Any prospective loss to the public by conversion into the new Two-and-a-half per cents. at 110*l.*, would be more than counterbalanced by the conversions into the new Three-and-a-half per cents., at 82*l.* 10*s.*

The whole of the bone and sinew of the measure, however, lies in the new security—the Exchequer bonds; which are an innovation. They bear, like stock, a guaranteed interest, yet, like Exchequer Bills, they are payable to bearer. Unlike stock they will not require the trouble and expense of transfer, nor the inconvenience of selling out at a loss. Unlike Exchequer bills they will bear a certainty of interest. They have been called by no friendly critic a species of "bank note bearing interest." They are an experiment of an interesting kind, and the advantages that may be expected from them are important. They will place the floating debt more under the control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Should they be successfully received, they may point out the means, as it were, of rendering the National Debt *moveable*; which is in itself a most important incident in two ways: first, it will facilitate any process for dealing with that odious old burden; secondly, it brings into the commercial market so much capital, which has been comparatively dead and dormant, and will now be alive and active. At a time of great commercial movement, when labour is dear, a mode of helping to ease the capitalist, without diminishing the reward of the labourer, must be most welcome.

It is true that the new security does not go strictly upon the principle of "terminable annuities"—unquestionably the soundest plan of conversion. Within the next ten years we shall feel the merits of that principle. About seventy millions of the Debt consist of terminable annuities, a portion of which will expire in 1860, relieving us annually of 1,294,000*l.*; another portion in 1867, with a relief of nearly 586,000*l.*; and soon afterwards the remainder, amounting to more than 2,000,000*l.* But the new bond, we say, offers the means of mobilizing the debt; and, with a present relief, breaks bulk for any subsequent improvement on fit opportunity. It is for that reason that we call it Gladstone's pickaxe.

#### LORD JOHN'S EDUCATION SCHEME.

EDUCATION is the one thing which the greatest number of the people at present desire; education is the vital influence upon which the most moderate politicians count as the means of aiding the people to elevate itself; education is the main hope of practical economists, whether of the old or the new school; education is the special mission assigned by public opinion to Lord John Russell, and he promised it. On Monday night he explained how he meant to keep his promise. Not at all.

It seems a harsh construction of Lord John's much precluded speech to say so; but an examination of his plan will prove what we say. Whatever his exact words, his promise implied something to promote the education of the people: what he proposes to do is, to permit town councils, if a majority of two-thirds can agree, to raise a borough rate for the purpose of being given to *sectarian* schools, established by independent means! This is a measure which will secure nothing to the people at large; nor will it be likely to work well even where it does become operative. It might have passed ten years ago; but now the people has advanced beyond it.

It is not likely that the town councils will ever be brought into the agreement necessary for rendering the measure a reality. Mr. Milner Gibson declares that Manchester will not; and let Lord John imagine a measure intended to be moderate and practical, in which Manchester would not co-operate! We believe that Mr. Milner Gibson is right. In most town councils there is so much diversity of opinion, that the only chance of obtaining a majority of two-thirds on

any question, save one of local, tangible advantage, is in the opposition of many sections to the proposal of one. In others, where a majority is feasible, there will be found some dominant sect, and that may be favoured, if it can be favoured almost exclusively. But the plan is likely to be more fertile in squabbling than in tuition.

Lord John makes his start from a fallacy. Because the people of England cannot agree upon a plan of secular instruction separated from religious instruction, he holds that they could not fall in with a plan if it were in working operation. The experience of Ireland might suffice to refute him, since there the opposition beforehand has been followed by an operation very generally successful. But in England the chances, save for one reason, were still greater. If schools had been established for instruction in reading, writing, history, geography, and arithmetic, it would soon have been found that the scholars provided for the religious teachers of the different denominations would have been better prepared, and also, we believe, that the teachers would have been more on the alert. The truths of arithmetic are not made more true by an infusion of other truth, however high. The rule of three has no essential connexion with the doctrine of the Trinity—perhaps the two are better appreciated apart. Perkin Warbeck's adventures and fate are intelligible, without either the Catholic or the Protestant version of the real presence. Pothooks and hangers are not likely to be rendered more beautiful by the grace either of orthodox or dissenting convictions; both great and little A can be formed more perfectly on ruled copy-book pages than on a religious basis. And what is more, the truth of the matter is well known.

The fact is, that the English people may be divided into three classes, whose opinion stated outright would confirm our position. The bulk of the people, the masses, have a great desire to be educated in reading, &c., but are comparatively indifferent about religious dogma, and they would hail a secular education. They want to know how to read with facility information practically useful to themselves; how to correspond with their friends at home and abroad; how to know where Australia lies, and where America; how to work their accounts of wages and expenditure; and they know well enough that they might learn all those things without waiting to solve the mysterious preliminaries of preventer or subvenient grace. To them the convenient grace would be the grace of a good plain instruction, given without affectation or delay. That immense multitude is for secular education; it is a standing claim at all their meetings, through all varieties of political opinion.

The next class consists of sectarians, who knowing the desire for instruction, would fain wrap up with it each his own pet dogma, and afraid that many of their plans for making little papacies of their own might fail if the people were educated independently, and then left to choose their own "persuasion," they would rather keep the people ignorant. This class professes to desire education, but only does so not to contradict what it believes to be a cant of the day.

The third class agrees with the first, but, more "respectable," it dares not speak out. Religion is a byword to numbers who profess to conform in public. A man usually adheres to the "persuasion"—what a strange word that is!—in which he has been brought up, unless he becomes very well off, and then he adopts a carriage, the Church of England, and other usages of polite society. A real gentleman would as soon eat fish with a knife as enter an Unitarian chapel. If ever men have done so it is as rude to speak of it before them as it would be to talk of the shop to a retired tradesman. Society has generally enough tacked its idea of honour and estimation, not to the belief in the doctrines of the Church of England, but to the "profession" of such belief, however transparently false. No man is presentable whose name is not "M. or N.," and however conscious the conforming sceptic may be in his own person of moral uprightness, he pretends to believe that it cannot exist unless his godfathers and godmothers have bestowed it upon him. It is this class which comprises the real traitors against public education, as they are the real traitors against religion. They keep the people ignorant, and among the educated maintain hypocrisy in lieu of conviction.

The class to which poor Lord John belongs is one not so numerous as some others, not so forcible as any; but residing in the midst of the eddy, is influential only from its neutrality. Too servile in mind to have the power of real conviction—too weak in sympathies to have the faculty of understanding a people—too self-sufficient to mistrust itself where higher minds choose to fail, it does not scruple to accept as a self-evident truth the stipulation of Protestant Jesuitism against separating the tuition in pothooks and numeration from ultimate speculations of religious truth; it does not hesitate to set itself above the people as better and wiser, and able to teach it the wisdom of minimising its knowledge; and it hastens to "settle" questions which it cannot even grasp in their reality. Thus Lord John thinks Christianity cannot sustain itself unless it be fileted into the mind of the young amid the accident of learning, as bad halfpence are passed off between good ones; and proposing that boroughs should give a rate to sectarian schools, if they can agree to do so, he vaunts himself as bestowing a measure of public education!

We almost doubt whether this is the real measure of which he spoke originally. We doubt whether there has not been a mediation of saints to intercept that which the English people really awaits, and to reprieve for a little while longer that compulsory "persuasion" which mocks the English people with the pretence of conviction, denies them, in the name of religion, the means of developing spiritual life, and drives multitudes into sheer scorn and hatred of a faith which is thus officially confounded with cant, superstition, and spiritual dictation. The Protestant popes of all sects try by indirect means to circumvent, drive, and bait the people into Christianity; and they provoke them into disbelief. To make them religious they keep them ignorant; and seeing through the trick, as a mockery, a delusion, and a snare, the people add to disbelief in the dogma, political disaffection towards the classes above them. An honest simple measure would have extorted their ready and hearty thanks. Lord John's borough tribute to sectarian schools will only excite their scorn.

#### THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND QUESTION: ITS NEW ASPECT.

How will the capitalists of England manage to pay all the wages that the working people are asking? Very readily, if trade continue to extend as it has done; but it will be necessary, we believe, for the capitalists to do something more than merely to pay wages; and we also believe that the present go-ahead prosperity of the country involves risks of its own which are not unlikely to prove serious dangers, because those who are responsible for the guidance of the country show no present consciousness of their increased responsibility. The condition of England question, and the condition of Ireland question too, present themselves in a totally new phase.

How will the capitalists pay all the wages? The question is really a startling one. Masons who were glad a few months ago to get 3*s.* a day or less, are now asking 4*s.* or 5*s.* or 5*s.* 6*d.* From Truro to Bradford it is so. Carpenters are getting from 22*s.* to 25*s.*, where formerly it was 18*s.* to 21*s.* The working shipwrights of Sunderland are asking 5*s.* a day, with a prospect of success. The people in many of the manufacturing districts are getting an advance without difficulty, and it is remarkable that it should be so in Yorkshire, where the manufacturers have to contend with an advance in the price of the raw material. Even in Oxfordshire the agricultural labourer is getting 9*s.* a week; down in Cornwall the rate which we have seen quoted is 2*s.* Nay, in Ireland itself this is most remarkable: in Tuam, men who would not long since have been glad of 8*d.* or 10*d.* a day, now obtain 1*s.* and 1*s.* 3*d.*, and some obtain 1*s.* 6*d.* where 6*d.* a day was taken before the famine! Upon the whole, we might be safe in saying, that the effective rate of wages has not advanced less than 20 per cent. even with an increased price for wool, iron, and coal.

But it will not stop there. We have already shown that for all present calculations the gold diggings of Australia must be regarded as without limit—they would yield returns to a far larger host of diggers than can possibly get there. The assistance sent home from America continues, and the "mania" to emigrate from Ireland revives with opening spring. Tuam sees daily

large numbers pass through it from America; every steamer from Cork conveys emigrants for America or Australia to Liverpool. From Wexford, Tipperary, Kerry, Roscommon, Sligo, Limerick, the cry is the same. "The tide" rolls on in all: the labourers are thinned in number; labour becomes not only high in price, but absolutely scarce. And these very persons going to America and Australia will be the examples, perhaps the assistants, for others to follow. It is true that her Majesty's Commissioners notify that they will only send to some of the Australian colonies labourers under indentures not to return home, and not to leave the settled districts for the diggings under four years, except on repaying a certain portion of their passage-money. But while these conditions could never be enforced, we may note that the proportion of labourers sent out by the Commissioners is now become comparatively small. A scavenger from Ireland can send back from America the money to carry out his wife, and numbers who go to Australia do not value the aid of which the Commissioners are so stingy. The emigration, then, will go on, and the annual rate of emigration as it has stood for the last five years—306,000—will probably be exceeded this year as it was last, when it amounted to 367,000.

We may set it down, then, that our industrious classes will continue this year to leave the country at the rate of more than a thousand a-day. The rate of births is not so great; but remember, that while the babes newly born to us in these latter years will not yet replace the adult labourers who have left the market, neither will they be married, and supply the vacancies in British parentage left by so many of those adult emigrants. We have lost probably nearly a million of parents in these last five years; so that births are likely enough to diminish.\*

Here is a decreasing population established, with a prospect of further decrease. Of course, wages must *continue* to rise; and the only check to that continuous rise would be such a disastrous turn in trade as should oblige the employer to forego a proportion of his business under pain of ruin. That prospect is not yet before us, and we may therefore anticipate a continued rise in wages.

Now, capitalists must provide for that demand; but how? By constantly and proportionately increasing their trade. Let us, in the first instance, suppose that they do so; and let us glance at the concomitants of such a social condition. Peace, or friendly relations with foreign countries, becomes additionally desirable. War would be no great harm if it only destroyed our rivals, or made other countries idle, leaving to us the trade of purveying for them. But hostilities with some states would be disastrous. America, for instance, might cut off the raw material on which our greedy cotton factory system feeds; for the Americans can really do things under an indignant impulse of which the tame English could scarcely dream. She, and almost she alone, could harass us on the ocean path. Turkey might be absorbed into Austria, and become protectionist; or into Russia, and become prohibitory—in either case cutting off 3,000,000<sup>l.</sup> of English trade. Our country, in its headlong career of prosperity, therefore, with wages ever trading on the heels of profit, and obliging commerce to push forward, needs a strong Government to maintain a firm sagacious foreign policy.

Our colonies are becoming daily more democratic. Canada has earned, by persevering rebellion and remonstrance, almost practical independence; the Cape has made considerable progress in the same direction; so has Australia, into which the Americans have begun to pour in increasing numbers; while anti-British, Irish, and anti-monarchical refugees from Germany, France, Switzerland, and all Europe, are daily recruiting the republic of the West.

At home the demand for a strong, sagacious, and generous Government, is not less obvious. The labouring classes are rising to a distinct social importance. Their demands are no longer slighted; but they are met by a considerate attention strikingly in contrast with the inexorable attitude of masters a year back. We do not blame the masters for the change—God forbid! but it is a significant fact. "Strikes," it is noticed, are, in innumerable cases, like so many

\* A set-off against that cause of diminution will be the increased ratio of marriages in proportion to the actual population, as a consequence of prosperity.

bankruptcies, "superseded"—never coming before the public at large, because the masters yield. In many cases where the masters stand out, the men succeed. Will this movement be final? Of course not: wages will still advance. But with working classes so decidedly elevated in social condition, with labouring men so much more worshipful, according to the true standard of English £. s. d., it will be impossible to keep them down politically. Even if contentment should make them apathetic, conscious wealth will make them proud. And it must be remembered that the workman is now open to two influences, unprecedented in their strength and concurrence: he sees that his brother in America or Australia is in full possession of social recognition and political rights; and he himself is growing accustomed to see his master yield before him.

Do we find any symptoms that other classes are alive to this altered state of "the condition of England question"? Yes, in some few, but very few instances. Mostly they are not so. The middle classes are individually becoming aware that they have more wages to pay; but their most conspicuous representatives have not appeared very active or sincere in aiding the movement to extend the franchise to truly national proportions. If they were, we should find the electoral body, which lies principally among the middle class, sending better members to the Parliament. And among those classes which at present furnish and nominate the candidates for Parliamentary seats, do we see the slightest proof that they know the magnitude of the interests in their charge, the character of the dangers that now menace those interests? In the People's House, as it is called, there is the same pleasant chit-chat called debates, about the comparative merits of the ins and outs, about the safety of giving the franchise to this or that class marked out as possessing property, about raising rates to help sectarian education, about some paltry "concession" or other, not intended to reach the true working class, but, by virtue of a "compromise," to halt between total refusal and full assent. Honourable Members and noble Peers go on chatting about colonies, and commerce, and constitution, as if our colonies were not gradually getting loose, as if labour were not abandoning commerce or making new terms with it, and as if "constitutions" could stand before a rich working class, after that class should really know its power, grow accustomed to victory, awake to the insult of having its plainest demands refused as a matter of course, and should discover that those classes which are self-appointed to rule it, really cannot adapt themselves to conduct public business under the altered circumstances of the day.

#### THE CONDITION OF EUROPE QUESTION.

How are all the irritations in Europe to be assuaged? That is a question scarcely less important for the real lovers of freedom and peace, than the one about wages. The more you survey the living map of Europe just at present, the more impossible it seems to conceive an answer to the question. We might make no account of an "affair" in this or that part, however serious an "Eastern question," or a "Swiss question" might be, as Schleswig questions and Polish questions have been; however nations might be expunged in 1853 as coolly as they have been in 1815, or any subsequent year, the pang might be endured. The difficulty is to know how it is all to be managed at once, and also to understand how, if the winning side in the present contest should continue to win, any one State that does not belong to the system of absolute government can maintain its independence, or its internal freedom. We do not believe it can. Perhaps the reader may share our apprehensions if he will follow our survey.

We all know that on the 6th of February, two months ago, there was an insurrection in Milan, "the work of isolated and miserable brigands," said Austrian authorities; but now Austria mulcts all classes in Italy; accuses the highest born of complicity, confiscates their property, —confiscates the property of naturalized Piedmontese subjects, and charges the Piedmontese Government itself with abetting. The bearing of Austria towards Piedmont is such as threatens to end either in the servile submission of Piedmont, or in some act of violence on the part of Austria. Austria is maintaining a hostile cor-

respondence with the Government of Switzerland on the unsustained charge that the Canton of Ticino had voluntarily made itself the fulcrum for the movement in Lombardy; the canton is exasperated by the repulsion of Ticinese expelled from Lombardy; and the federal Government is threatened with armed hostilities. Hungary, under a military occupation by Austria, is torn by robbers of the Robin Hood class, who are winked at by the quiet people of the country. Prague has been the scene of very severe punishments of youthful students, accused of expressing sympathy for Kossuth—Prague, the capital of that Slavonian kingdom which has taken many opportunities of expressing its hatred for Austria. The Prussian King, not long since dissenting from the violent demeure of Austria, has lately discovered a conspiracy in Berlin, and his Government are making arrests at the rate of eighty-six in two days—the prisoners being charged with high treason, and being persons of respectability. Gervinus, the inflexible historian, is persecuted at Mannheim. Domiciliary visits, at the demand of Austria, are enforced at Nuremberg to seize tobacco packets ornamented with portraits of Kossuth and Mazzini. The Government of Hanover is contending with working men, whose meetings are suppressed, their notices being adorned by portraits of Robert Blum, the martyr in the Viennese revolution of 1848. At Mecklenburg one merchant is arrested, and in the factory of another a quantity of grenades are found. In Naples the Government is alarmed at the sight of a wide-awake, which the soldiers tear from the heads of the people and destroy; and in Palermo the body of a Swiss guard is discovered with a dagger in his breast, labelled "the revenge of Mazzini," a billet put there perhaps by an unauthorised admirer, or possibly by some agent of the police. In every part of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy, there are the signs of violent and arbitrary conduct on the part of the Government; of secret conspiracy on the part of the people—a conspiracy explained by the impolitic cruelties of the authorities.

By the very acts of the Governments, therefore, there is throughout the wide extent of Europe which we have indicated, disposition to insurrection so considerable, that it is only kept down by military force equal to the occupation of a conquered country. People and Government are at war—one held down, the other holding down.

While such is the general state of the continent, the isolated "questions" assume a new importance; and it is interesting to know how they stand. Their aspect is not promising for peace.

First, let us take the Swiss question. The King of Prussia, who had practically abandoned his claim to be "Prince of Neufchâtel" in the revolution of 1848, and has more than once forfeited his title, is now disposed to reseize it; and the English Government of Lord Malmesbury's time joined in a protocol recognising his power to enforce the claim by arms. He thus stands over a portion of Switzerland, threatening military occupation. Austria also threatens to invade Switzerland to enforce her vengeance for the assumed misdeed of Ticino in affording a ground for Italian conspirators; and he will probably occupy the eastern part. Should he do so, political prophets anticipate that France will occupy Genoa, and take her share. The Swiss, however, are specially armed, with their mountain fastnesses and rocky vantage ground; and they will be a hard victim to slay outright.

Next stands the Lombardo-Piedmontese question. Austria confiscates the property of men whom she has permitted to transfer their allegiance to Sardinia; and then accuses the Sardinian Government of not acting in good faith. Not a shadow of proof is advanced; and the correspondence only establishes the fact, that Austria is desirous of picking a quarrel with Sardinia. Now, as Sardinia has really done nothing to foment Italian revolt, this conduct on the part of Austria indicates nothing less than a desire to attack Piedmont.

Lastly, there is the still unsettled Turkish question. Prince Menschikoff is still at Constantinople, and still holding back his real "ultimatum." Russian officers have been directed to disperse themselves throughout Christian Turkey, including Montenegro, Greece, and the Greek Archipelago, and one has gone to Broussa—to

tamper with Abd-el-Kader? Austria has relinquished the foremost place, which she had taken from France, and Russia now stands as the arbitress of humbled Turkey.

The great powers of Europe, Austria and Russia, have made vast strides since 1848, and they are evidently bent upon proceeding to extend and consolidate their rule. Turkey, Sardinia, and Switzerland, are now the states menaced by those Powers, as Belgium is by France? How long will this state of things continue? Until a great counteracting power shall arise. And what may that power be? A few years ago we might have said, the States which uphold constitutional freedom and public law. But they hold back; only uttering to the patriots who have resisted, the cowardly reproach, that by emulating the Hampdens and Eliots of England they have actually made the Charles Stuarts angry! But conjecture may glance at powers that *might* possibly arise to confront the tyrants. Where military power is the real instrument of authority, it may occur to the mind of some ambitious genius of the sword, that it is idle sport for the hero in the field to play pander to the Emperor in the drawing-room; and thus a military secession might be the first diversion in the game of imperial absolutism. The peoples also of Europe might act. It is true, that, like the people of England, they seem inclined to sacrifice anything for a quiet life. Still, tyranny such as imprisons good citizens for life, or until old age, in noisome dungeons—which flogs women, and persecutes all, *may* become really intolerable; and then the next insurrection would be no rose-water revolution.

Or constitutional countries *may* awaken from their dream of security, and perceive that while their very existence is endangered, the means of extrication are evident enough. Some, indeed, are half awakened. Belgium perceives that she may be absorbed in France; but she asks in vain, it is said, for English support. Piedmont also asks for aid, and England hesitates—as Piedmont does herself; for it is true that she has sided with Austria against Italians, although Austria repays her, as we have seen. Turkey falls, and England permits three millions and a half of her trade to be extinguished by the absorption of Turkey, rather than make a bold stand!

"England," we say, because the English people really acquiesces. It is true, that here and there a genuine English spirit is aroused. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for example, Mr. Crawshay shows that the magnates of English commerce can still take a statesmanlike view of international affairs; Mr. Blackett proves that an English gentleman can still be an "independent Member" and a Liberal, without truckling to a craven policy; and the audience shows that a mixed assemblage of English people can still understand plain questions with which our ruling statesmen profess to be puzzled. But as a whole, England is apathetic.

And France? Louis Napoleon is encouraging everybody, all round, to rely on his friendship—England, the Belgians, Prussia, Russia, Austria, the Lombards, the Turks, Abd-el-Kader—all are incited by him to offer what they can; and when the time of the eruption comes—then the lava of French arms will flow down that side of the heaving volcano which leads into the happiest valleys and the pleasantest vineyards.

#### PEACE NOTION OF WAR ESTIMATES.

COULD we get at the reasons which convinced the Peace Deputation of Louis Napoleon's pacific intentions they would be of a singular kind. They must be somewhere in the things which the deputation observed, and what were they? Not his moustache of course, though that is the first object that strikes the eye in confronting him. Not in his countenance, which tells nothing.

Perhaps it might be in the "concessions" which he makes—concessions, namely, to shareholders in this or that railway. Now let us examine this reason. He must mean peace, the pacific railway directors might argue, since he encourages the reciprocation of commerce, and permits English capital to invest itself in France. Kind potentate! But let us ask what is the ultimate value of that permission? He permits English capitalist to supply English money for making French railroads, and English capitalist already counts his profits. But does it quite follow that Louis Napoleon would always permit

French money to come back to pay English dividends? This we take leave to doubt, both as to the will and the deed.

On occasion, Louis Napoleon has not shown himself very scrupulous about property. We have seen that he has, against all usage, appropriated English money invested in railways, as the shareholders in the Bordeaux and Côte company can testify. Grant that that confiscation was only sharp practice, and was justified by a technical flaw in the case of the shareholders, still it abates our sense of the Imperial good faith. The confiscation of the Orleans property was a direct spoliation, which ought not to be justified in the eyes of commercial men by the fact that political prejudices prevented much popular indignation in France. But even if these reasons did not suffice, commercial men might well doubt the means of a ruler whose ordinary finance is mystified by cross accounts, in order to palm off the transparent appearance of an even balance in 1854. What can be the credit of a man who resorts to such devices for such a purpose?

It is scarcely trifling to say, that the dinner which he gave them was about the best proof of his honesty. The proof was something, especially to the civic mind. A feast is a tangible fact. The man that places before you the tenderest meat, rendered by science and condiments a veritable sweetmeat—who can sooth your palate with melting creams of the most aromatic ecstasy—who can inspire your imagination with the most delicate yet brilliant wines, in whose atmosphere, half materialist half spiritual, the sparkling beam of liquid sunlight is relieved by the delicate shade of the purple black, until the sense itself becomes a work of art, accessible to no ideas but those that approach it *en beau*—such a man must have a profound consideration for you; and if you represent in your own proper person a joint and sacred mystery of Peace, England, and Shares, he must be profoundly touched with affection for Peace, England, and Shares.

Oh, false reckoning! What if the dinner were an investment? Did not Circe feed her guests?

But the authority of these people to pronounce dogmatically either way is amusingly absent. Nobody sent them; nobody gave them a warrant. The very signatures to their "address" are repudiated. Lord Campbell has shown that the whole proceeding was illegal—a sort of treason against the state—an usurpation of its high office, in the face of foreign authorities. They had nothing to tell Louis Napoleon, except that they were not bent on warlike aggressions; and, as a French journal has said, nobody supposed that they were. The utterance was needless. And what can they tell us of French pacific? Did they inspect the arsenals and dockyards? Did they review the troops? If they had, could they report upon the facts? Can they put a *tirailleur de Vincennes* through his manoeuvres; can they tell the difference between a Minie rifle and one of the improved pattern now made at Birmingham? Did they inspect the men, or enter into conversation with the officers? Did they poke their heads into a single cannon, taste a single sponge, or qualify themselves to report anything by so much as counting the buttons on the jacket of a Hussar? Not one of these things, we venture to say, did they do. What then becomes of the demonstration? Can John Masterman, junior, report to Louis Napoleon, "*L'état c'est moi*," and aver that he speaks the sentiments of England at large; or can Samuel Gurney be deemed a qualified reporter on the actual state of military affairs in France?

It does not need military knowledge, however, or a visit to Paris, to know that no calculations on these heads could be trustworthy. Great Britain turns peace to a profit, but France has not always done so, and on this head Louis Napoleon is himself a remarkable witness. We quote his own words:—

"Under a wise Government, and where the leader takes care that the public revenues are not wasted, great economy may be effected without obstructing the various branches of the administration. The budget of Napoleon, notwithstanding the war, never exceeded six or seven hundred millions. In 1814 alone, it reached 1,076,800,000 francs, and he met this enormous expense without borrowing. He said that a budget of 600,000,000 ought to be sufficient for France in time of peace; yet, at the present time, notwithstanding peace, the budget is 1,160,053,658 francs, or 400,000,000 more than it was under Napoleon, and

500,000,000 more than it ought to be in time of peace."

In 1814, the expenditure of Great Britain was 106,832,260*l.*; it is now little more than half that sum. In 1814, Napoleon I.'s expenditure was about 43,062,000*l.*; now Napoleon III.'s expenditure is more than 60,000,000*l.*, with nothing but a fallacious balance in prospect for 1854. Decidedly England profits by peace; on the face of the figures France seems to lose by it; and whatever may be the reasons for that bad management on her part, decidedly she has not our reasons to dislike a war.

#### THE MORAL OF THE ASSIZES.

The assizes proceed, but imaginative as are reporters, we see no cases extolled as "infinitely exciting." The week illustrates the tenderness of no soft-hearted judge, the virtues of no romantic ruffian; we have nothing to mourn over, save the dull routine of crime—nothing to be impatient with, save the unsteady steps of justice. Even amusement is not to be found in the week's dreary trials, though barristers have evidently laboured at jokes, and jurymen have obviously been bringing discredit upon juries. Under such circumstances, we may contemplate certain cases, not as exceptions, but as illustrations of the rest; and, turning indifferently over the daily broadsheet, may congratulate ourselves more or less, as it happens, on the brightness of the intelligence which illuminates the homes of large masses of the people; and on the elegance of the few and only vices which intrude upon a state of high civilization.

At Monmouth, three men are indicted for manslaughter, conducted on exclusively Welsh principles. The accusation is, that after Llanelli fair, where there had been the usual amount of "skirmishing," as the witnesses mildly called it, the deceased, who himself had a taste for somewhat strong drink and rather rough gymnastics, was stoned, kicked, and beaten to death. Evidently he died with a skull fractured, and the brain lacerated—symptoms seldom appearing in cases of suicide; but in a country where there are few recreations, and Crystal Palaces are objected to, exhilaration will follow a wake; and "skirmishing" always results from exhilaration. Hence the slayers are subjects for sympathy. Moreover, there must be a doubt as to their identity; for, so festive are the proceedings, that everybody is intoxicated, and the majority take to bearlike jocundities, before their close: so the jury candidly admit that the man is dead, but prudently feel a hesitation as to whose brogues might have been the instruments of the final and mortal laceration. The prisoners get the benefit of that doubt; and the intellectual, if dangerous, amusement of "skirmishing" is probably now being toasted, to inebriation point, by the philanthropic pugilists of Llanelli and the neighbourhood.

On the same day, at the same place, a man is indicted for firing a loaded pistol at a woman, intending to murder her. The fact of the firing there is no doubt about: a broken jaw, divers teeth lost, and shots in the neck, leave that well established; but the couple are content; they have put up the banns, as a preliminary to marriage; and the pistol business was a mere, though forcible, illustration of the *amourous* principle. What, then, have the public to do with it? The lady looks upon it as a private affair, is "forced into the witness box," calls the shooting an accident, acquires her sanguinary lover, and retires, minus her teeth, and marked about the neck, to be united in the bonds of matrimony to the gentleman who signalized his courtship by these tender demonstrations of a barbarian's regard. Let us hope that the promise of marriage, which has been the value received, by the expectant bride, for her mild view of the affair, will be duly and properly fulfilled. Let us counsel her admirer to fidelity: a passion which survives gunpowder is deserving of its reward.

For us, as journalists, it only remains to point out that, in this case, marrying a woman is very like tampering with a witness; and to suggest that here is another illustration of the danger to justice, and so to public security, of postponing the examination of witnesses, for months, till the period of the assizes. Here, for instance, subsequent to the accident, or the crime, we have this after-thought of the marriage, and we have the death of a principal witness. The magistrates had, of course—no blame to them for what is a usual

practice—taken only enough testimony to commit upon; bail was allowed; and now the consequence: impunity for an attempt to murder, when followed by a promise of marriage. Such are the results of the law's delays.

But if juries take gentle views of outrages in some counties, the average of their verdicts turns the balance in favour of severity. Repression of ruffianism in Monmouthshire may be impossible, so they acquit; at Taunton they are determined, even though an occasional innocent man should be the sacrifice, to show their disapproval of Rape. A man of sixty—an age which lessened the probability, if it increased the atrocity, of his crime—was charged with this outrage on a servant girl of sixteen. Of course he threatened to kill her if she cried out, and of course she only escaped the otherwise inevitable killing by the required cessation of her cries. This is so in every case; the distinctions are in the sequel. For ten days, then, our heroine had the eyes of her murderous admirer so closely upon her, that she could not disclose the wrong which had been done. However, she was discharged from his service, and then, as she was smarting under this grievance, her modesty and her fears forsook her; the ravished innocence over which for ten days she had mourned in silence mounted up in value, and with her public spirit, long latent, thus fired into enthusiasm, she openly proclaimed her loss, fearless of going down in the matrimonial market, if she could bring the hoary sinner—who no longer requires her services—to justice and to prison. She succeeded; he is transported for twenty years, and the more moral and more aged householders about Taunton are delighted; but those of sixty and under feel that henceforth it will require courage to discharge a servant. As to the rest, moderately "shocking" murders are being tried in various localities. Infanticides are of common occurrence—the shame of having a child being in a pharisaic country so much more painful than the sin of killing it; and heartless seductions—which never ought to have "come out"—are curiously investigated by passionless judges for the amusement of an apparently prurient, but professedly virtuous, British public. Details of this kind the daily papers can sufficiently supply in society they are never mentioned, but only read. Fact, admittedly, is stranger than fiction; we cannot afford space for either. Fortunately: for if we could, how should we decide between the inspirations of Holwell-street and the reports of the Assizes?

#### REVOLT OF THE HAIR APPARENT.

Beards and mustachios have been forbidden in Vienna, as "wide-awakes" have in Naples. Indeed, throughout legitimist Europe, the mustachio is reserved for military men, and in civilians it is understood to indicate rebellious tendencies. The mustachio is what the prohibitory rules of the correctional police in Lombardy would reckon among "subversive objects." A circumstance which has occurred in the United Kingdom induces us to connect this prohibitory law with the suppression of the Hygiene Society in Berlin. Some ten thousand persons, it appears, were enrolled under that name, for purposes of health, which has a very revolutionary aspect. Perhaps they had been attempting some such subversive action as our own Sanitary Association in London, which tries to remove dead bodies from under the noses of the citizens, in the teeth of the Established Church; so greatly has respect for established institutions decayed in our own country! Or the Berlin Sanitary Association may have been guilty of recommending mustachios, which we see insidiously advocated, even by one of the Faculty, in the moderate town of Edinburgh!

And his advice has been followed. The stone masons of Glasgow have commenced the movement of free trade in beards, defying the protective laws, social or statutory, in favour of the barbers. The pretext is, that the mustachio is a preservative against injury by fine particles of sand while the men are engaged in dressing stone. Evidently, however, the movement is not to stop with stone masons: in the columns of the *Times*, "C. G. B." recommends the same practice for millers, bakers, and others similarly exposed; and it is well known that the mustachio is a natural respirator, protecting the lungs against consumption; so that a pretext might easily be found for bearding the authorities universally.

Suppose it is a protection against consumption, what then? What right has a civilian to protect himself against consumption in defiance of constituted authority? Consumption is better than the stick, or the new mode of execution at Mantua by slow strangulation on the top of a gallows. And if freedom of opinion is to be put down, why not freedom of respiration also? If the civilian feels the inconvenience in a pulmonary sense, how is that worse than feeling constriction of the brain, or constriction of the purse, or of any other vital organ? The next thing will be, that on this pretext the whole of our working classes will put on the beard, and walk about, boasting themselves more manly than their betters. The working man and a cavalry officer will be on a level. The working man will be indistinguishable from the Nadaud with whom he fraternizes, or from an Italian nobleman; and as the hair sprouts from his upper lip, ideas above his condition may spring up in his head. Dr. Allison must be a "democ. soc.;" and as a faithful organ of the party of order, we feel ourselves bound to protest against this conspiracy. Society will not be safe. What we decidedly recommend to Sir Richard Mayne, as a becoming sequel to his cab-law, is, either that he should obtain a compulsory statute authorizing the barbers to enforce their rights, or that he should arm the police with razors.

#### THE GOVERNMENT AND THE WORKING MAN'S PRESS.

##### LETTER II.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS MILNER GIBSON, M.P.

SIR,—The maintenance of the existing Taxes on Knowledge is not a question of law, for the Inland Revenue office prosecute a Vendor for *wilfully and knowingly* selling a certain broadsheet—as a newspaper, when the said Revenue Office cannot themselves define a newspaper in accordance with their own practice—when three out of four Exchequer Barons have lost their way in the attempt—when the Crown lawyers fail to explain what it is—when an acute Stipendiary Magistrate, assisted by an able Barrister, the learned member for Bath, and the entire Board of Inland Revenue, takes seven days to arrive at a decision. No, this cannot be a question of law, for the Stamp Office has for years ignored the law, and now prosecute blindly an accidental vendor for violating the letter of an Act of which they openly and confessedly violate both letter and spirit. The sole question to be made clear is one of Revenue. Will a penny broadsheet, of real or imaginary news, affect the sale and endanger the pecuniary interest of the stamped high priced press? Is the penny paper the Aaron rod of Journalism, capable of swallowing up its sixpenny competitors? That is the question. I answer no, and proceed to justify my negative on official and patent grounds.

The Stamp Office must know that under the existing law and custom it is impossible for the Penny to absorb the Sixpenny Press. The red stamp on the newspaper gives it *postal* privilege, and without this no broadsheet can practically become a newspaper. *The fact is, no machinery exists for the transmission of unstamped papers.* Anything save a *local* circulation is impossible. Every paper intended for general distribution must be printed three or four days, and in some instances seven days prior to its date—it, therefore, can contain no news of any value to the professional reader of any station and this was an element in the calculation of those who framed the Act of 1836. No fear of the Stamp Office deters me from publishing news in the *Reasoner*—with subscribers sufficient to convert it into a newspaper, and a desire to do it—the non-existence of the machinery for circulating it under a loss of two and three days renders such conversion impracticable. The abolition of postal transmission would involve new circulating machinery for all papers. So that in the face of the existence of the newspaper postal stamp, the plea of the Inland Revenue office that the penny unstamped paper in the metropolis can defraud the Revenue, is an official error.

But may not a local penny paper compete with a stamped paper—both being sold exclusively in one town? I have answered this query by a comparison of the relative value of each journal limited by its price. Besides the overriding intrinsic advantage of a perfect journal—who does not know that the high priced newspaper is an

English Institution, supported by commercial necessity and conventional pride? If the Sixpenny paper were as inane as *Dulness* and *Vacuity* could make it, it would still sell, and pay in most connexions, *because it costs Sixpence*. Go ask the advertisers. Why, the journal at Sixpence, which does not sell 1000, and which is known not to sell 1000, can get advertisements refused to the Threepenny paper, which sells 90,000. Numerous tradesmen will not advertise in a Threepenny paper, and would be inclined to bring an action against any one who should put their advertisement in a *penny* paper. The fact would be held to challenge the respectability of their position, and endanger their connexions. Thus, English Society and Habits are so well defined, and so inflexible, that the working man having a press of his own, will in no hurtful way affect existing newspaper interests.

More, indeed, might be said on this head. The Government do not, and need not, subsidize the English press. The advertisers do that unconsciously. They govern the tone of our journals, and will continue to do so by the very constitution of English commerce and society. But how advertising is an administrative influence, and under what laws it operates, it would be irrelevant to discuss here. I limit myself to showing, that our stamped press is quite safe from any competition (and high-priced papers will always be safe from injury) by the existence of the poor man's paper. The Inland Revenue Office's practical definition of a newspaper is, "a weekly or fortnightly journal competing with the stamped press, and thus defrauding the revenue." No penny papers can do this. They would rather create new readers of the Stamped press, and by augmenting the demand for the best papers, strengthen their own interest, and increase the revenue. As proprietor (by proxy), it has fallen to me to witness the expenditure of large sums upon the establishment of high-priced newspapers. Not sixpence of such capital would have been held in solution had there existed a Penny Unstamped press to have created readers. Not as a theorist, or a special pleader, but as a practical journalist, I aver unhesitatingly, that the stamped newspaper press and the revenue, too, would benefit greatly by the existence of an unstamped penny press. The present policy of the Inland Revenue Office is defrauding the revenue more than all the unstamped newsvendors of the country put together can do; for while the stamp lasts, they are the seed-plots of the revenue, as they would be the benefactors of high-priced first-class journals, if the stamp were abolished. For myself, I would ten times rather set up a Sixpenny newspaper in a district abounding in unstamped papers, than in a place where none existed.

And here lies close at our hands a clear answer to all who fear that an untaxed press would, in this country, descend to the level of the "rowdy" portion of the American press. Never! unless English nature and English culture should also be changed by the same Act of Parliament which unstamps the Press. Can the skilful mechanic endure bad machinery? Will the cultivated architect endure an incongruous building? or a painter endure a daub? or an orator, spouting? or a practical politician loud-mouthed rant? or the scholar illiterateness? or the artist bad taste? And as of art and manners, so of newspapers. The cultivated, thoughtful operative will not tolerate a paper inflated, antagonistic, and superficial. So of other and more educated classes. National culture will govern the taste of the English press, and "rowdy" journals will never sell in Great Britain, until we possess a "rowdy" population and Yankee backwoods. In the United States the same law holds good. The first-class journals of that country are supported by the cream of the inhabitants, and the rising tone of the American press generally indicates what it will be on the social consolidation of the great transatlantic Republic.

The Inland Revenue Board confess that they do not follow the Act of Parliament, except when they seek to put down the poor man's paper. The Inland Revenue Commissioners neglect to comply with the provisions of the very Act for violating which they prosecute Mr. Truelove; and they permit *class* newspapers, although no word is found in the Act of Parliament mentioning or exempting *class* papers. But upon their own ground it may be maintained, that the *Potteries Free Press* is a

class paper. The Inland Revenue office permit the *Athenaeum*, the *Builder*, the *Lancet*, the *Law Times*, but not the *Potteries Free Press*. Literature, architecture, medicine, and law, are licensed, but not the poor man's politics. I raise no objection on the fact that the aforementioned journals are permitted: I rather rejoice at it. My argument is, that the operative's class journal should be permitted also. The *Athenaeum* (always the generous, disinterested, and able advocate of a free, popular press) thinks that a distinction exists between "news" and "public news." But literary, architectural, and medical occurrences are "public news," else why are they made "public," else why do the "public" buy the record, and why does every intelligent public man crave the information? "The advocates of non-taxation" have not raised the question of exclusion—the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have done that, by menacing and proceeding against humble papers for publishing public news without themselves furnishing any parliamentary definition warranting their exclusive interference. The public themselves demand to know whether our press is free so long as it is at the mercy of the decisions of an irresponsible and lawless board sitting at Somerset House.

First, take the point of revenue, and then the point of class definition. The *Athenaeum*, *Builder*, &c., are taken by many persons INSTEAD of newspapers. Persons not caring much about politics, find in the discursive columns of the literary, legal, architectural, and medical journals that which satisfies them. Thus the Revenue lose their penny stamp, though these classes of persons are ten times better able to pay it than the poor potters of South Staffordshire. Moreover, these persons whom the Inland Revenue might tax did once pay, and could now pay, the tax, while the poor potters never did pay it and never can. The Inland Revenue office could extract the penny stamp from these classical, and scientific, and professional readers, and not deprive them of any knowledge. This partial, capricious Office, however, leaves them and pursues the humble and comparatively indigent potters, who are thereby shut out from any knowledge, and kept in ignorance—and the Stamp Office "wilfully and knowingly" do this—Mr. Phinn, M.P., professionally defends it—the existing newspaper press (supposed to be the friends of the people) think it right—and an educational Government permit it. The potters cannot buy a sixpenny paper, nor a threepenny one, nor a twopenny one—they can only buy a penny one. They have no more money to spend in this way; and Lord John Russell, a great constitutional statesman, who makes speeches to Leeds Mechanics' Institution, and Mr. Gladstone, of Oxford University, say the potters shall not have a pennyporth of political knowledge—the Inland Revenue officers shall prosecute all vendors so long as poor potters cannot pay sixpence. Thus talks a leading Minister of the Crown, and the select representative of a renowned University, to the poor, indigent, knowledge craving operative; and thus the working classes are taught to reverence the magnanimity of learning, wealth, government, and collegiate institutions.

Now, the *Potteries Free Press* is a class paper, and so are, and so must be, all penny papers. The paper which is read by all classes (the only proper newspaper) must contain something for all classes; and no penny paper can do that. The threepenny papers cannot do it. It costs more money to set up and sustain a Threepenny stamped paper than a Sixpenny one. One of three things you must have to establish a threepenny organ—a large connexion—a highly-popular name, or inexhaustible funds; and with all three conditions, the result is a threepenny paper below the standard of excellence and fulness of the higher priced papers. No workman even takes threepenny paper who can afford a sixpenny one. The threepenny paper being lower in tone and fulness than the sixpenny one, the penny paper is more incomplete still. The character of the information it must give will be peculiar—in fact, *class news*. That which the penny readers want is not that which the sixpenny readers want. Much the gentleman, the politician, and the gentleman require. True, your penny papers *will* contain something to be found in the regular newspaper, but it would be a mere provision of its *class-matter* than the *class* containing the *Athenaeum* or *Builder* or *Lancet*. The contents of those

journals. Thus, the true class character of operative papers is imposed by the imperative law of their class wants.

Court and Parliamentary proceedings I take to be the purest, and the *Athenaeum* of the 26th ult. allows them to be the most taxable, departments of political news. Yet the portion of this supremely taxable news a penny journalist would take, would form but a small item in his paper. When the Solicitor of the Board of Inland Revenue some time ago declared that the Budget-speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was *not* news, and the Queen's speech *was*, I published in the *Reasoner* the next Queen's speech that was delivered, and the Stamp Office did not prosecute me (nor do I desire them to); but mark the result,—the publication of that speech nearly cost me half my subscribers, who could not imagine how they had incurred such a reprisal. With all respect to Her Majesty, he said, no un-stamped paper could exist if it dealt freely in Royal orations.

No one has a higher respect than myself for the House of Commons. I never sympathize with those who underrate its utility, its deliberative sagacity, or its general personal integrity, but really though my own reverence for it is such as to entitle me to a perpetual seat—in the Strangers' Gallery, I could not venture to publish its speeches in any popular periodical unless they should become a trifle more lively and somewhat more relevant to working men's interests. Thus the news which is intrinsically political and taxable, is so little in demand by the readers of an un-stamped press, and would be given in such infinitesimal quantities that it would form but the exception to the *class* matter, just as happens in the journal now exempted by the Board of Inland Revenue.

The fact is, since the last acts of Parliament were passed against the popular newspaper press, the article "news" has expanded immensely beyond the Parliamentary definition; and the Board of Inland Revenue itself has been silently compelled to ignore the act. Up to 1836 political news was the staple news—now, literary news, scientific news, architectural news, medical news, fine arts news, legal news, educational news, critical news, social news, temperance news, trade news, commercial news, religious news, colonial news, "diggings" news, mining news, railway share news, racing news, yachting news, and twenty other kinds of news have sprung into distinct and class prominence. Each class more or less paid the stamp-tax indirectly through the newspapers in 1836, but since then the Commissioners of the Board of Inland Revenue have been obliged insensibly to relax their hold on all these departments of news—they have invented an immense definition called "class" news, and licensed them all under that head—*except WORKING-CLASS NEWS*. They do permit "the fair trader to be defrauded," they do permit the stamped newspaper proprietary to have their interests "invaded" by all the associations and professional classes in the land, able to pay the tax—they exempt the clergyman, they exempt the professor, they exempt the physician, they exempt the lawyer, they exempt the artist, they exempt the architect; each of these gentlemen may have his class newspaper—the Inland Revenue officers only hunt up the potters of South Staffordshire, or the indigent operatives of our large towns. As Mr. Washington Wilks said at the late working-class meeting at the National Hall, at the founding of the "Free-Press Union," the "Government pass by the rich man's flocks and herds, and seize upon the poor man's single lamb."

Political news, which the Parliament had in view to tax, is now only a fragment of that news which the Stamp Office licences, and if the stamp be retained at all, it ought to become not a professed tax on news, but on price, and ought to be confined to the fivepenny and sixpenny papers, whose respectability it might thereby secure. The taxes on knowledge have no effect now but that of preventing the diffusion of knowledge and lowering the tone of the entire press, by withholding the purifying element of intellectual competition.

Here I close my argument. The fiscal question is at the bottom of the trial between the Government and the People. Neither the spirit of the law—nor the letter of the law—nor the imaginary intentions of bygone legislatures—nor indefinable distinctions between news and public

news, constitute the root of the Inland Revenue proceedings. It is probable that neither the Government nor the Commissioners are unfriendly to a popular press. Their practical inquiries are—Does the revenue suffer—has the existing stamped newspaper interest a right to complain if we allow unstamped penny newspapers?

Those who look below the surface, will see that the *Potteries Free Press* was no infringement of the Revenue, and the Stamp Office ought to know it. That humble paper, under present fiscal restrictions, cannot exist at all—no working man's newspaper can without extraneous aid. The present writer collected the largest subscription to sustain the aforesaid *Free Press*. All the ingenuity in the potteries cannot make it pay, for sufficient subscribers cannot be got under existing legal difficulties. If postal transmission at one penny per copy were granted to the un-stamped press to-morrow, the working-class could not use it. The extra penny would raise the price too high. The working-man, therefore, waits the permission of Parliament to have printed for him such class news as he wants, which will enable him to be served cheaper, and he waits the creation of new machinery by vendors for the prompter transmission of his paper—till then his penny newspaper is impossible, and the late assertion made by the Inland Revenue Office, and reiterated by Mr. Henry, at Bow-street, that the operatives' penny paper defrauds the Revenue, or is an injustice to the stamped press, is false in fact, is a crime against knowledge, and a reproach to the Commissioners who make it, to the Magistrate who believes it, and the Government who enforce it.

As one allied to the working-classes, not by hypothesis but in fact, I thank you, Sir, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Scholefield, of Birmingham, and all your Parliamentary colleagues friendly to the freedom of the working man's press, for the efforts you are making in the face of misrepresentations, unpleasant to bear and troublesome to refute, for the sake of the many who can only repay you in barren thanks.

I have, Sir, the honour to be,  
Your obedient servant,  
GEO. JACOB HOLYOAKE.  
Woburn-buildings, Euston-square, London,  
April 8th, 1853.

#### "A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

WHEN, on Thursday afternoon, on my way to my favourite public amusement, I was walking in the spring sun through the St. James's Park, and heard the small guns about there firing away, in great rejoicing in honour of the happy event in the adjoining Palace, where, in consequence of all that firing, a new and limited pair of lungs must have been at that moment getting into rapid play, I was mentally summing up, for historical purposes, what in Parliament had been the business of the week so far, and what it was likely to be. I remembered, in the first place, that Lord John Russell, volunteer and unticketed pilot to the calm, had on Monday placed before the country an elaborate statement of the gross ignorance, chaotic in assize intelligence, of the masses of the people, and the consequent necessity of a large measure of education. I remembered, in the second place, that the greater portion of the evening of Tuesday had been occupied in discussions upon the admitted corruption of the British electoral body, and the consequent perplexity Parliament will be placed in when, having declared every seat void, its only alternative is either to issue an "as you were," in the shape of new writs, or, by consenting to commissions, to prepare for an inevitable measure of universal disfranchisement. I remembered, in the third place, that the Wednesday sitting of the House of Commons had been monopolized by a discussion of the best legislative means of checking the increasing British custom of brutally beating wives. I remembered, in the fourth place, the notice Sir Benjamin Hall had given of his intention to introduce a discussion which, in effect, was to decide whether the last of the Percies, recently First Lord of the Admiralty, had or had not sold "the service" for political purposes, and further, whether his friend and Secretary, also one of the English chivalric classes, had not, in regard to the transaction, wilfully told the inquiring Senate a—falsehood. Lastly, I called to mind that the House of Lords, that same evening, was to agitate the question of Indian Government, and to inquire whether it was true that the capitalist classes really do, as alleged, vend the interests of 150,000,000 of conquered and plundered people for the greater or less interest on the invested principal for the buying



of that humanity. Musing on all this, and coming to the conclusion that judging of this enlightened country by the "votes" papers, it must be in rather a rotten condition, I arrived at the Stranger's Gallery, and got into the hum of a crowded House, which had just finished private business, had presented its petitions, and was awaiting the what next of that most interesting hour for announcements—half-past four. Sad and sorrow myself, I expected, perhaps unreasonably, some skeletons and ashes expressions for the national sins in that august assembly; at least it was natural to think that the tone of the week would be in the proceedings. But the hum was a complacent hum; there was cheerfulness in individual attitudes; the general group was decidedly bold, brisk, and lively. Suddenly there boomed through the hot House the presidential voice of alexandromic Shaw Lefevre, who announced "Lord John Russell." Loud cries of "hear, hear." Was he going tearfully to deliver a Jeremiad over English degeneracy and the social confusion of our civilization? I saw the decorous faces of the House; and the meaning and importance the Leader threw into his opening bow and preliminary "Mr. Speaker—Sir," for an instant sustained the notion. But I heard some mumbling, and then some reverential words about "the birth of a Prince;" and the loud cheers—chuckling, jolly, welcome little strange cheers—disclosed the mystery. It was an address of congratulation to the Queen that she had got an eighth baby. There the baby was, you were requested to believe, lying in Lord John's arms, and being presented—by him as a sort of male Mrs. Lilly, to the host of constitutional papas—to the "faithful Commons." We are a domestic nation. It was a pretty scene. One expected next the Sergeant-at-Arms to advance with candle and Dr. Locock, to be immediately sent up to the Peers as the Lord Deliver us, to appear at the Bar, as clerks in departments do, with returns. Lord John, having gently smirked through his business, with all his sympathies as a loyal subject and a paternalist aroused, sank back into his seat; and another round of cheers hailed Mr. Disraeli, who, dark, and grave, and mysterious, pulled down his vest, put his white hand on the green box—the contrast is so telling—and had the honour of seconding the motion, being sure (here every one remembered how the Court aids him) that these motions were something more than ceremonies (here every one remembered the Coingsby chapter, in which he adjures the throne to emerge from its contemptible position as a Doge's arm-chair), inasmuch as with the continuance of the reigning House—(here there were great cheers)—every honourable member felt the Queen and the Prince were constantly keeping the consideration in mind)—were indissolubly bound up the fortunes of the land. (Loud cheers.) The motion agreed to with acclamation; the sweet, interesting episode—that little oasis of the finer feelings of our nature, &c., amid the stern, metallic desert of business—was over. The House, as usual, passed from its poetry to the orders of the day, just as the artillermen fired the guns, and then took them to the caserne and spunged them, to be ready for next time.

Joyous feelings being suppressed—loyalty put on one side again—the Speaker takes the paper in his hand, puts his glasses on, and booms "Mr. Vernon Smith." Mr. Vernon Smith has the first business; and it happens to be in jarring contrast to the duty just got over so pleasantly. Alas! one thinks, it is good to have many princes—it is good to be affectionately loyal; but here would appear something almost commanding a moment's oblivion of royal fruitfulness. But nobody down on the floor there notices the contradiction they are going through. The mover there, the favourite nephew of the great Canon Smith, who could have said some bitter things about such an occasion, is all smooth, smug complacency, and is going through his work as a joke worth gentlemen's attention before they go off to dinner, and out of the way of that frightful Irish debate, which threatens to set in about seven. The business Mr. V. Smith has in hand is a motion for another address to her Majesty—to congratulate her?—no, to ask her to issue a commission to inquire into the corrupt system believed by a certain Committee, which ought to know, to be extensive and permanent in the borough of Cambridge. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear," too.) I was the chairman of the committee, said this right honourable and gentlemanly man, which inquired into the allegations of the petition complaining of an undue return for Cambridge; and I can assure the House the disclosures were really frightful. (Hear, hear.) Then he went on to describe the system. He was jocular about one Samuel Long, the local Coppelock (I had seen Coppelock, as I came in, in the vestibule, surrounded by members, with whom he dines every day, and who think him the nicest fellow in the world); and he was humorous, making the House grin, too, about how the

bribes to the bribed were given, in Cambridge, by a lady—a lady with a fall—he did not mean in the immoral sense; but who was veiled. And, really, he proceeded, this system is not confined to the poorer voters; it is—ah—the regular thing in Cambridge for all classes, high and low. And he was funny about that universality of the thing; and made curious extracts from the evidence to show that the witnesses admitted it. The House was delighted with the extracts. Then, with a lurch, Mr. Smith became moral. How was all this to be remedied? A commission would do much; it would be an exposure; but it would not do all that was wanted. The House hear, heared. I am greatly afraid, said Smith, putting his head on one side, talking in a low key, and with the air of a man quietly settling the question—the House being very attentive—that the evil is in the degraded tone of the constituency themselves. The House hear, heared: it was pleasant to throw all the blame on the country—a relief from responsibility. Smith had made a hit: he felt that, and went on. I am afraid, he said, corruption is not felt to be a disgrace by a voter; and I suspect, therefore, we must wait for some years before we can remedy the evil. (Hear, hear.) The House thought, certainly, it could afford to wait. My friend, Tom Duncombe, said Smith, asks us to widen the electoral districts, and to have no constituency under 20,000 voters. That's all nonsense: suppose you have 20,000 electors, parties may be so balanced, 100 or 200 will turn the scale; and where there are voters who turn the scale, of course you must bribe 'em. (Hear, hear.) Every hon. member felt that. Smith was really talking well. I ask the House, continued the orator, whether it isn't true, that so long as there are men willing to be corrupt, there will always be money to buy 'em? That was putting it epigrammatically: Q. E. D. Mr. Vernon Smith sat down, satisfied that he was a fine specimen of an English gentleman, and that he had hit the nail on the head, and would hear his small speech talked about as the "right sort of thing, sir—no humbug," over cutlets in every club in London, in an hour.

I heard Mr. Labouchere, on the same national theme, on Tuesday. Mr. Labouchere is another heavy liberal,—one of the higher classes, too, who think that as the people is rather scoundrel, and business must be carried on, why they must be bought,—and he made the same sort of speech; but he was somewhat more scrupulous. He spoke in mournful cadences of the rascality of Hull, to inquire into the corruption of which he was asking for a commission, in the same way. One of our oldest mercantile communities! Shocking. Every one of the freemen got 30s. at elections; and not one of the 10,000 householders would vote, unless the candidate permitted hospitality, and hired a committee-room in their houses. But, said Mr. Labouchere, slowly and emphatically, and with that artificial solemnity which he got in the old time, and which he has never lost, and the peculiarity of which is that it is applied to small subjects and great subjects—to the question of war or the question of a railway, with equal rigidity, "I do believe that there are, nevertheless, a large number of pure, independent, and respectable persons in the constituency of Hull." Hear—hear—the House had no doubt; there might be some. He said why he thought so; had he not made this motion, the House would have received a petition from Hull, praying for enquiry (i. e. disfranchisement). That settled the matter; the commission would not need the lantern; there were, no doubt, more than two or three honest men in one of our most ancient mercantile communities. Then, deepening into darker solemnity,—finishing his sentences with still abrupter spondees, which is ancient House of Commons style,—Mr. Labouchere went into the general question. He had heard opinions that electoral corruption in this country was on the increase; he for one did not believe it. No, sir, his deliberate opinion was, sir, that corruption was on the decrease,—that at the last election it was less than at the previous elections,—and that there was only more talk because there was more virtuous indignation—more public self-respect. You could see a smile fit along the rows, as that came. Mr. Labouchere gives excellent dinners, and is a great favourite, and is frightfully rich; but, confound it, that was too absurd. He trusted, sir, to this growing public opinion; it was an age of progress; and, as an evidence, he instanced the readiness with which the House granted these Commissions. Age of progress. Henry Labouchere saw the age of rotten boroughs—sat for one of them; he was a zealot for the Reform Bill of 1832; and in 1853 he has to accuse our third port of only having "several" honest men in its whole community. But no one is in the House to meet such talk as all this—to say "it is not true: you are twaddling," or "If this is true: let us abolish representative institutions:" and Hull had as few defenders,

—remembrance of the civil wars should have inspired some one,—as Cambridge. The House is running from the horrors of the system, as a man flies from a bear,—dropping one garment after another, to delay and feed the monster; or as the shipwrecked do in a rotten boat—throw overboard the heavier cargo. The glaring, hideous, evil, is obvious, but nobody will face it; and next year, the committees forgotten, we shall have the routine cry for "Reform," and Lord John, for decency's sake, suggesting a "measure." There are only two men who would talk the truth; and these two would put it in opposite lights. Mr. Roebuck would make the House translate what it means by hear hearing the trash of the Smiths and Laboucheres; Sibthorpe, on the spot, cynical about Britons, says his say briefly. Commenting on Mr. Labouchere, on Tuesday, he made his usual reverent and pungent quotation from Job—"Ha—ha." In the sham atmosphere, Sibthorpe sounded eloquent for once; but, then, the voice was from the dim back benches—it may not have been he.

Observing the conduct of the House of Commons in regard to these election matters,—its utter bewilderment and steady ignoring of general conclusions, and incapacity of consistent, systematic, conduct,—assuming the Smiths and Laboucheres to be faithful interpreters of the average notions and feelings on the subject,—assured that there is no deep sensation at all, when you get members out of the House, on the matter, but a "man of the world" sort of acceptance of things as they are,—it is very difficult to make up one's mind to the belief that when grave topics of national moment are approached there is any hearty faith either in the present or the future among the debaters. There are other pieces played—and the dresses are different—but isn't it farce, too? This *laissez aller* House would appear to the innocent public on Tuesday as having been very thoughtful and earnest on Monday about Education: and it would be a consolation to suppose that, though there is indifference about the voting generation, as being utterly irclaimable, there is anxiety to look after the human beings who are growing up, and will return an eternity of Smiths and Laboucheres in the twentieth century. For all this rotteness and corruption, from Carlton Club members who have "an object," as Colonel Dickson said, in "getting in," to the 30s. freemen of Hull, who are of course much more contemptible, because their conscience and manhood go at so much lower a figure, the remedy would truly appear to be "National Education." If there was hope anywhere for a resurrection in the Golgothic, "so much ahead," public spirit of the age, it was in Lord John's long announced measure, with which, as a first dish, the third course of the Session was to be commenced on Monday night. To see and hear all about it, it was necessary to be early at the gallery door, for on such a great night, on such a measure, there would be a rush. That was the natural theory; there were not twenty strangers in the Speaker's gallery: and that Speaker's gallery, observe, is a barometrical index of public interest,—as it fills or empties, topics excite or deaden, orators rise or sink. Then the House itself would at least be crowded? When Lord John Russell rose to arrange for the enlightenment of the rising generation there were not one hundred members: and it is odd, but no sooner was he on his legs than a third of those who had been there disappeared. Perhaps Lord John now ranks with the bores: but, remember, that it was two hours to dinner still; and whatever his own cold, unsatisfying, common-place, he was going to announce the intentions, on a great theme, of a strong Government, which included nearly every statesman identified with the subject. And yet this leader of the House of Commons, of whom you will hear men say, "Can't be done without, sir,—Lord John has an enormous personal following,—a man who inspires affection, sir,"—commenced his talk by the remark, it was quite unnecessary to beseech attention to his opening, since the question was one in which was felt a universal interest. There was a mal apropos naïveté about that which forced a laugh, and gave a ludicrous turn to all that was to follow. Why describe what followed? Every one's mind is made up about the measure; and perhaps the general conception is very accurate—that it was about the best measure a too religious country will admit of,—which proves much for our contentious piety, and little for the enlightenment of which we talk at our public dinners:—and the manner in which the measure was proffered was corresponding:—a compromise between an oration and a communication,—a state paper without the punctuation,—the which Lord John (Pitt put in the colons) can to any extent speak off-hand. Always loose, languid, and lumbering, Lord John Russell was, on this occasion, more than ordinarily bald, crude, cold, and disheartening. He was not proud of his scheme: and the tone was that of a man somewhat "down" and ashamed;

for it is his own fault that he excited the impossible expectations, having ceaselessly for the last six years talked of the urgency of Education, and having deliberately and aforethought made this measure the glory of the Aberdeen Administration. He did not know that a new Prince was coming to give eclat to the Session.

The debate on the sketch was as such debates usually are—utter waste of time, nobody knowing what they were talking about, and no one appreciating the circumstances. Mr. W. J. Fox took the opportunity of delivering his annual able and suggestive speech in favour of the secular system, not seeing that after Lord John's more than ever emphatic declaration against that system, and that after such a scheme from such a Cabinet—a coalition Cabinet, which had the utmost interest in doing all that was possible in this direction with the country they are governing—it would be as practical to propose the non-introduction of an address congratulating the Queen on fecundity, as to urge on the existing Parliament the regular rout of the education-mongers who prefer to see children "heathens" (it is their phrase,) than not to have them of their own particular class of Christians. But Mr. Fox was listened to (Lord John had long finished, and the House had come back from dinner); and, having concluded his quiet, argumentative protest, he had got the usual gain—another year—which is something, seeing that to time alone, he, like Mr. Labouchere, can trust. But we shall have some good debates on the Government proposal when it comes on in more complete and better comprehended proportions; and it is to be hoped that some one will apply to the education discussions the moral that if it is all true what we hear,—that the masses are all bribable, the wealthy all bribers, and the aristocracy all like the substitute for the Percy—then it is time to put National Society, British and Foreign Society, and Committee of Council on one side, and try some other plan—say Mr. Fox's,—being tolerably safe that under no regime, for our enlightenment, could we be very much worse. Or Mr. Phinn's plan. Mr. Phinn, to whose rising position in the House, previous reference has been made in this place, for the purpose of showing all barristers that when they become members they must absolutely cease to be forensic—put conceit and priggishness on one side and be submissive and deferential—said, in the debate on Monday, that he greatly regretted in Lord John's plan the absence of the "compulsory element." Mr. Phinn is a really enlightened man; quite abreast of his age; and not an unworthy follower, in liberalism and integrity, of Mr. Roebuck, at Bath; but it must be confessed this beloved of a crack liberal constituency has oddly despotic notions of improving the world. He would make it a crime in fathers not to have their children instructed—rational and philosophic, but queer as a proposition in this country and in this century. The same eccentric mental tendency—the result of intense good-humoured and gallant philanthropy, and restless impatience of the Fox and Labouchere recipes, was visible on Wednesday in his amendment on Mr. Fitzroy's bill to apply to the characteristic of British-back-street Society—the belabouring of wives. Mr. Phinn—the incarnation of the sentiment he was wanting to legislate on—a gentleman who (but then he's not married) full of lusty manhood, would undoubtedly commit justifiable homicide upon any assailant of a woman,—led fifty-eight other gentlemen into a lobby of the Senate, April 6, 1853, in favour of the principle of man-flogging. His answer to an objection was very rich. "Public flogging," said Lord Palmerston, "would brutalize the offender still more." "Then let it be private," said Mr. Phinn; a response which calls to mind the old House of Commons story of the legislator who was opposed to the Chimney Act, and argued, that if it was cruel to clean chimneys by dragging geese up them, why, two ducks would do as well. The motives in this case are clearly good; and the House, which was attentive, and really in earnest in backing this excellent bill, did full justice to them; and Mr. Phinn, being a single member, is exposed to no sneers. But if we consider the *morale* of the men who followed him, we begin to question whether these rich and happy fellows are so immaculate in their marital relations that they were entitled to sentence to flogging the wretched savages who, when they quarrel, are more savage than dogs, since dogs have exceptional patience for the weaker sex. He only who had never sinned should have called for the whip; just as only those honourable gentlemen and noble lords who have never traded with convictions for power, or pleasure, or profit, are in a condition to despise Hull freemen. In respect to this question, as to Mr. Phinn's brutes, it was a good *mot*, made on Wednesday (*not* publicly), that when the rich man has a row with his spouse, he can seek refuge in his club; but the poor

man has no club, and, accordingly, takes to the cudgel.

But the House of Commons is, undoubtedly, full of what is called "fine English feeling;" and if we should be naturally ashamed of wife-flogging being a common offence, we should be proud that our Senate admits it, faces it, and resolves, so far as it can, to put it down. Equal boldness in other directions would be very gratifying. For instance, how is it that it is the aristocratic, and not the "popular," branch of the Legislature which has been the first to denounce the sneaking address of the City of London to the French Emperor? Laugh at Lord Campbell, if you will, for his squirrel-mindedness, his restless rushing about for popularity—now in a cant at the Inquisition, in an Achill trial, now in an eager affectation of "liberality" apropos to Louis Napoleon; but of this you may be sure, that if Lord Campbell had not felt his way in the Lords, and had not been sure that his attack on the City deputation would have told, he would discreetly have held his tongue. It did tell: Lord Ellenborough's "disgust" was general when thus evoked; and Lord Malmesbury could not contrive to look, with all his assurances, more respectable than if he had actually taken his place at the table in Tuilleries court uniform. Steam is a good thing; and facilities of communication are pleasant; and we are all glad that Lord Granville could address Frenchmen in good French at a Paris banquet; that Lord Clarendon can speak Spanish as well as Lord Granville can speak French; that Lord Malmesbury made himself tolerably understood to the foreign legation, and that Lord Palmerston can talk every language that is talked in any part of Europe; but we have not yet quite got to the point of so appreciating the cosmopolitan tendency of the age so unreservedly as to enjoy the sight of a British Peer, once the medium between our Sovereign and all other Sovereigns, more devoted to the gratification of a foreign court than to the honour of his own countrymen; and unhappily it is evident that Lord Malmesbury prefers French despots as well as French cooks. Perhaps—to account for the silence of the Commons upon the transaction, whereby the crew of jobbers compromised the whole country—we should remember that one of the offending deputation to Louis Napoleon is, in the House itself, a good-humoured man, generally liked, and incapable of defending himself, and so spared. Besides, the press that bears the brunt of the Imperial Adventurer's wrath, takes all the worth of moral protests off the Senate's hands—the House has business and is always in a hurry. The busy air visible last night was affecting; and it was very urgent indeed that something should be done, in the shape of a reduction of the national debt, to balance the increase in the royal family. Mr. Gladstone was developed as a great financier by a most marvellously complicated plan—the intricacy of which may be judged of by the fact, that the whole Stock Exchange has been puzzled, and that all the reliable city men in the House confessed themselves last night bewildered—Mr. Gladstone, revelling in all the financial refinements and economical ingenuities, was in his element. He is the most rapid speaker who ever spoke in the House of Commons, and with the analogous speed-distinguished Macaulay when Macaulay was oratorical, he is also the most elegant of sentence-makers, speaking speeches, according to the reporters, which can be transferred from short into long-hand without the alteration of a point or the turn of a phrase. In that way he has long been regarded as a phenomenon,—the climactic specimen of the facetiously verbose style of modern Parliament. But he got this species of fame as a talker about subjects admitting of generalities, and it was never supposed his special gifts would allow of his rushing through a Budget as Charles Mathews dashes through a patter song. It was a Budget last night; about a page of a morning paper spoken in two hours! And he hardly referred to a note, never paused a moment, broke through cheers, dashed over interpolations—logic, figures, illustrations, extracts—all pell mell, with a whirl and a fury that took the breath away, left stenography, you could easily see, panting after, only just *not* in vain, and put it utterly out of the power of the honourable gentlemen who wanted to speculate by nine in the morning, or to speak before twelve at night, to put on to paper the slightest hint of the points avanched transversely through their heads. And he did it all with the utmost ease, and got to the end without turning a hair; and in his after explanations, which were perpetual during the evening, adding notes to the astonishing text, he was as cool, quiet, and as little excited as though he had been merely answering William Williams a question about the benefits of economical administration in the purchase of tooth-picks for treasury clerks. His was the only speech. Mr. Disraeli's was quite a failure, and fell dead and disappointingly; not that he did not seem right in his notion that all the *avant-puffing* of the

plan had been as disproportional to the plan itself as the mercantile connexion in Cairo between figs and the Prophet—that it was all a *bruit pour une omelette*—but that Mr. Disraeli elaborated a conviction in the audient minds that he was not "up" in the subject, and was incapable of following his supplanter in the Finance Ministry on *this* ground, which he himself had cultivated too much like an amateur Protestant, converted suddenly into a model farmer, with the success usually attendant on such experiments.

"A STRANGER."

#### SATURDAY MORNING. MR. GLADSTONE'S FINANCIAL SCHEME. (From a Correspondent.)

This debate on Mr. Gladstone's proposed plan for commuting a portion of the 3 per cent. stock has brought the demerits of the scheme more prominently into notice than any advantages it may possess. The scheme itself, and its reasons for it, were stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a speech of singular clearness and candour. He professed for it but very moderate effects as to an immediate diminution of annual charge; and recommended it chiefly as laying a basis for future operations, by establishing, on however small a scale, a  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock.

Following the arguments rather than the speakers, the debate, up to an advanced period, may be epitomized as follows:—

It had been objected that the proposal to give 110 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock for 100 $\frac{1}{2}$  of 3 per cent. added in fact 10 per cent. to the capital of the debt; and as Mr. Gladstone fully admitted that any such addition was most objectionable, he was compelled to admit also that his principle was not practically applicable to the whole 600 millions of 3 per cent. stock, and to propose that it be limited to 30 millions until Parliament gave further powers. To this it was objected, that if this arrangement were afterwards to be extended, it was in fact admitting the principle that the capital of the debt might be increased for the sake of saving the present interest, and this consistently followed up would increase that capital by 60 millions; while, if the principle were not to be further applied, it must be useless so to deal with the 30 millions now proposed, and that it was intended to follow up the plan seemed evident from this, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed it for the very purpose of establishing new principles and not chiefly for the sake of its present effects.

To these objections it was answered, that there was not only a new stock proposed, which lowering the interest added to the capital, but another also, which contrariwise, increasing the interest, diminished the capital of the debt; and that if the proposed conversion was effected, partly in one of these and partly in the other, it was probable no increase in the capital would take place at all. The reply to this was, that the proposed terms of these two new kinds of stocks are such that no choice between them is possible. For while the new 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cents. at 82 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 10s. would give an annuity of about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 17s. 9d. per cent. on the purchase money, with a claim 40 years hence for only 82 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 10s., the new 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. would give an annuity of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ . 15s. per cent., with a claim at the same period for 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The conversions, therefore, for the most part, if not entirely, must take place in the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cents.; the consequence must be a large addition to the capital of the debt, for no other advantage than a very small reduction of interest, and the speculative advantage of establishing a 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock.

In favour of the proposed Exchequer bonds, it was asserted, and not denied, that they would be a very favourite investment with many classes, particularly commercial capitalists and foreigners. The convenience of their being transferable merely by delivery, without cost or form, and of their coupons being readily realizable, would give them a preference equivalent to a considerable difference of interest. While, however, this was admitted, it was, on the other hand, objected, that the eighteen millions of Exchequer Bills bear now only an interest of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and that it was impossible these should be kept out at that rate, while Exchequer Bonds, equally secure and convenient, bore an interest of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. So that a sum of 1 per cent. on eighteen millions, or 180,000*l.* per annum, must be deducted from any saving to be effected by the other parts of the plan.

We have thus noticed only the chief points discussed. It may be added that the views and arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer very much assumed the perpetual existence of the national debt, while those of his opponents looked more distinctly and anxiously to its reduction. Mr. Gladstone made little or no allusion to the probability that the effective value, or purchasing power, of the debt will be much diminished during the term of forty years which he proposes for the inconvertibility of the new stocks; a consideration which, however, was afterwards imported into the argument by the other side.

We can hardly deem this scheme as entitled to more than the credit of fair intentions. It seems not likely to produce any considerable effect on our financial arrangements, or to strengthen the party from which it emanates.

#### NOTICES TO correspondents.

THE extreme pressure on our space compels us to defer several important articles and letters already in type.

AN UNITARIAN.—The guinea enclosed has been forwarded to the "Testimonial Committee."

R. S. CARDIFF.—We believe Fourier's work has been so issued.

G. SMITH, Salford.—We are obliged by his attention. We shall be glad to receive a report of the meeting.

A CIVILIAN.—The Admiralty order in question appeared in the *Times* of the 1st inst., signed,—"By command of their Lordships,—R. Osborne."

## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

It is an old remark that people are more angry with those who expose an imposture than with those who perform it; and in exposing the pretended Spirit Manifestations, we knew the consequences which would ensue. But it was high time to do so when clever and even distinguished men were allowing themselves to be deceived. If "gossip Report" be not wholly a liar, a very celebrated novelist is a believer, and is actually writing a novel in which the "spiritualism" so miraculous in its communications (at one guinea a head) will supply the old machinery of mysticism.

In Germany, as we hear, the article which first attracted attention to the subject in these columns has been liberally reprinted, but the article which exposed the imposture is passed over in silence! The following extract from our correspondent's letter will be read with interest:—

My DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry to tell you that the leading German papers have translated my article on the Spirit Rappers, but, as far as I am able to ascertain, the same has not been the case with your refutation. I seldom or never see German papers, and can therefore only go by what others tell me, or what I accidentally hear; but I trust the good people at Berlin, Cologne, and Hamburg, will have had sufficient common sense to give their readers both sides of the question. Professor Michelet at Berlin, rather famous in chemistry I have been told, has been writing a letter to the editor of the *National Zeitung*, in which my article appears. I have read that letter. He talks a great deal of magnetism, and is of opinion Mrs. Hayden, whom he supposes to be clairvoyante, reads the names and answers to be given on our hearts' tablets, if I may use such an expression. Thus it was (says Professor Michelet) that she read cognac instead of cognac, the word being strange to her, and she taking an *a* for an *o*! Oh! But, after all, it comes nearly to what you say,—that it is an imposture, and that Mrs. Hayden gives the answers (and the raps), and not the spirits.

I thought the above might be of some interest to you, and therefore made free to communicate it to you.

In the *Zoist* for this month, in spite of Dr. ASHBURNER'S known connexion with the work, there is an article exposing the imposture, and qualifying it as such in energetic terms. There is nothing very decisive in this paper,—decisive, we mean, to obstinate believers,—for the writer merely records failures, not experiments. He explains the rapping sounds in this way:—

"Place the sole of one of your boots or shoes with one side bent downwards (so foot being crossed over the other, if you please), so that the upper edge shall touch the leg of the table or chair, and then a very slight movement of it backwards and forwards will give you the precise Rappist sound; and you may give any intensity you think proper."

This may be the manner, but it may not, and if it is not, then the Rapping Devotees will come forward with triumphant refutation, and imagine that by disproving the assertion they have proved their doctrine! Conscious of this danger, we abstained from any speculation as to how the raps were produced. Every one has reproached us with the omission. But as we did not know, we would not hazard a guess, which, if wrong, might discredit all we had said on the way the answers were communicated. There are a hundred ways of producing the raps, but as we are ignorant of the precise manner Mrs. HAYDEN produces them, we remain silent on the point.

The new number of the *Westminster Review* is a remarkable one. Thackeray's writings are characterized in a thoughtful, searching, and admirably-written article. It is no slight praise to say, that the writer has produced a criticism which few who begin it will leave unread, without having recourse to paradox or polemics to give piquancy to this much-worn topic. *Iconoclasm in German Philosophy* introduces to the English reader a new and remarkable thinker, SCHOPENHAUER, whom the writer of this paper may be said to have discovered, so unknown is SCHOPENHAUER even in his own country. The article is masterly; it presents an intelligible and very interesting account of SCHOPENHAUER'S position and system, forming an omitted chapter in the History of Philosophy.

*Martial and his Times* is a good subject, laboriously, but indifferently, treated. The writer has not seized the peculiarities of that dissolute, disreputable wit; nor has he distinctly pictured to the reader's eye the state of Roman life. His comments and translations are poor. Thus:

"In one line he frequently asserts a fact, and deduces from it in the next a startling paradox:—

"Habet Africanus millies, et tamen captat;  
Fortuna multis dat nimis, satis nulli."

"He fawns for more, though he his thousands own:  
Fortune gives some too much, enough to none."

This reflux of opposite principles into each other, and the analogies which they suggest in the physical world, struck Lord Bacon, and helped him to ascend to the platform of his first philosophy."

We are at a loss to detect the "startling paradox" in this old epigrammatic turn; and we are amazed to find the writer turning the edge of the sarcasm as he does in his translation of the following witty epigram:

"Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillæ,  
Et cupit, et instat, et precurat, et donat.  
Adeone pulchra est? immo fedius nil est:  
Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? tussit."

"Strephon most fierce besieges Chloe,  
A nymph not over young or showy.  
What then can Strephon's love provoke?  
A charming paralytic stroke."

The effect of this epigram is in the sudden *tussit*, "she coughs," which stops the hurried questions, bringing them down with a pistol-shot. "A charming paralytic stroke," is but a feeble version of *tussit*. Let us try a hasty stanza:

"Gemellus wants to marry Maronilla.  
Sighs, ogles, prays—and will not be put off.  
Is she so lovely?—Hideous as Scylla!  
What makes him ogle, sigh, and pray? Her cough!"

Martial wrote more platitudes than any writer of reputation, but he also wrote some good epigrams, and several of these we miss; for instance, the original of "I do not love thee, Doctor Fell."

"Non amo te Sabidi: nec possum dicere quare,  
Hoc tantum possum dicere: non amo te!"

And the amusing sarcasm against the doctor turned "undertaker," who, as MARTIAL says, does not change his profession by the change.

"Nuper erat medicus, nunc est vespillo Diaulus:  
Quod vespillo facit, fecerat et medicus."

Which BOILEAU may have had in his eye when he wrote that delicious couplet—

"Il vivait jadis à Florence un médecin,  
Savant hableur, dit on, et célèbre assassin."

How came the essayist to omit that perfect epigram—

"Pauper videri vult Cinna—et est pauper."

"Cinna pretends to be poor, and is what he pretends"—a monostich not easily surpassed.

In spite of drawbacks, this paper on MARTIAL will have its interest; we only regret it was not treated in a more lively and epigrammatic manner. Two other subjects are elaborately treated in two papers—*British Philanthropy and Jamaica Distress*, and *Early Christianity: its creeds and heresies*—the latter a minute and comprehensive review of BUNSEN'S *Hippolytus*, remarkable for its fulness of knowledge and the fine discrimination with which it distinguishes the various shades of the trinitarian conception; it is not, however, written with the fervour and eloquence usually noticeable in the articles of its well-known author.

We omitted to mention the appearance of a new quarterly journal, *The Scottish Review*, issued for the purpose of advocating the "Temperance cause," with other subjects of "social progress." The second number is before us, and deserves a word of praise for the variety and ability of its articles. DR. CARPENTER is among its contributors, as we needed not the initials to inform us—the repetitions of what he has previously published betrayed his hand. This same temperance cause is roughly handled in the opening article of *Blackwood*, from which the leaders of the movement might gather profitable hints (if movement leaders were in the habit of profiting by criticism.) There is so much that is good, wise, and practical in the movement, that all who stand without the circle must regret to observe so many stumbling-blocks of fanaticism and false science thrown by its leaders in their own path.

While glancing thus rapidly at the magazines of the month, let us note, in *Fraser*, a delightful article on LONGFELLOW, the most popular of American poets; an amusing *Portrait of Brown*, by ALBERT SMITH, in *Bentley's Miscellany*; an article on *India*, and one on *Gold* in the *New Quarterly Review*, (which Review is improving rapidly,) a pleasant paper on KIRBY, the entomologist, in the *Eclectic*, and a new journal, *The Scottish Educational Journal*, which pleasantly mingles literature with pedagogy.

Rumour reaches us of a new weekly paper, *The Press*, "which is to be on the high Tory side what the *Leader* is on the democratic side." We are sensible of the compliment, and shall welcome such an antagonist. Free speech and free thought are much needed on all sides; and the stronger our antagonist, the more heartily shall we applaud his entrance into the arena. By strength, we do not mean "powerful invective" and ultra-proclamations, but the steadfastness of convictions, and the candour they empower men to show.

## BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

<i>The Case of Mr. W. H. Barber.</i>	E. Wilson.
<i>The Poultry Book.</i>	W. S. Orr and Co.
<i>Writings of Douglas Jerrold—A Man Made of Money.</i> Part I.	Punch Office.
<i>Hasdley Cross, or Mr. Jerrold's Hunt.</i>	Bradbury and Evans.
<i>Horatio Opera Omnia.</i>	Whittaker and Co.
<i>Temple Bar the City of Golgotha.</i>	D. Bogue.
<i>The Journal of Psychological Medicine.</i>	John Churchill.
<i>Osbert of Aldgate and the Troubadour.</i> By Miss E. M. Stewart.	Ingram, Cooke, and Co.
<i>The Domestic Medical and Surgical Guide.</i> By J. Hogg.	Ingram, Cooke, and Co.
<i>The Complete Angler.</i>	Ingram, Cooke, and Co.
<i>The Dodd Family Abroad.</i>	Chapman and Hall.
<i>Home Circle.</i>	W. S. Johnson.
<i>Papers for the Schoolmaster.</i>	Simpson, Marshall, and Co.
<i>The Parlour Library—Arrah Neil.</i>	Simms and McIntyre.
<i>Baroda and Bombay, their Political Morality.</i> By John Chapman.	John Chapman.
<i>My Child-Life.</i> By M. Josephine.	T. H. Bee.
<i>Chamois Hunting in the Mountains of Bavaria.</i> By Charles Boner.	Chapman and Hall.
<i>Faust: A Tragedy.</i> By J. W. Von Goethe. <i>With Copious Notes.</i> By Falck Leibuhn, Ph., Dr. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.	Partridge and Oakley.
<i>Tait's Magazine.</i>	Sinnett.
<i>The Historical Romance of Buckingham and Richelieu.</i> By Alexander Dumas.	R. Bentley.
<i>French Cookery adapted for English Families.</i> By Miss Crawford.	R. Bentley.
<i>Political Incidents of the First Burmese War.</i> By T. C. Robertson.	James Hogg.
<i>The Scottish Educational and Literary Journal.</i>	

## AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN AMERICA.

*An Englishwoman's Experience in America.* By Marianne Finch. Bentley. THIS is truly what it purports to be—the book of an Englishwoman, recording a woman's experience, and written from a woman's point of view. This makes the book interesting; anything remarkably new on the subject was not to be expected, and yet by her mode of treatment Mrs. Finch has given us a very agreeable and suggestive volume.

Her impressions of America are decidedly favourable. She does not approve of all she sees, but discriminates. Even in noticing a fault, she does not satirize; as, for example, in her indication of that ungentlemanly forgetfulness of woman's presence implied in the following:—

"On our return to Boston, by the evening train, I was most unfortunately located in a group of expectorating gentlemen, whom it pleased my evil genius to keep near me all the way back. In vain I opened the window, hoping to drive them to a warmer latitude; no vacancy occurred in those regions, so I was obliged to reconcile myself to becoming a peninsula in a sea of tobacco-juice—to happy if I could keep it out of my face, which was often in peril, from one of this chewing fraternity squirting past me through the open window. Luckily, he was always successful in his aims, and 'cleared' me and the window. I suppose it was confidence in his own skill that prevented him from reassuring me, when I shrunk back, as a gentleman with similar aims did a friend of mine, who sat between him and a coach window; observing she was a little nervous when the filthy missile passed her, he said, kindly, 'Don't trouble, ma'am, I guess I can clear you.'"

None but the very lowest Englishman would persist in smoking in a carriage, when it annoyed women, why therefore will not Americans forego their *quid* under such circumstances?

When at Lowell, Mrs. Finch says:—

"I observed Hume's *History of England*, Josephus, biographical and religious works, but very few novels. Mr. James, the English novelist, noticed the scarcity of light literature in one of these establishments, and mentioned it to the matron. She (not knowing the profession of her visitor) replied, 'Oh dear, I don't encourage such trash! I tell 'em I never wish to see one in the house.' The novelist, much amused, said, 'My dear madam, you did wrong there!'"

In the following extract the reader will catch a glimpse of one dear to England as to America.

"The Universalists are a numerous and increasing sect, differing but little from the Unitarians. Like them they reject the Trinity, the doctrine of Atonement and Election. The idea to which they seem to attach most importance themselves, and by which they are known as a sect is—their belief in final and universal happiness, or that good will eventually triumph over evil; that they may exist together, but cannot assimilate—one being transient and removable, the other permanent, and inherent in God and nature.

"Thus I heard it expounded by one of their most celebrated preachers in Boston—Mr. Miner. He illustrated his faith by facts from history, saying persons were burnt for witchcraft in that State, till the moral sense of the people was sufficiently awakened to stop it.

In forming their government, evil was permitted to enter it, in the shape of slavery. It remained by the side of liberty, but could never amalgamate with it. Expediency had kept them together, but the strife remained; and would never cease till the slavery was overcome."

"This is the only time I heard this tabooed subject mentioned in the pulpit, except by Theodore Parker, who, when the Bill for detaining fugitive slaves was passed into law, mentioned it on the following Sunday morning, after the sermon, saying he did not consider himself bound to obey this iniquitous law; that there were nearly 500 fugitive slaves in Boston, whom he would assist by every means in his power; and that he hoped there were many in that audience with manliness enough to do the same. The audience testified their approbation of his sentiments, by giving him a round of applause.

"It has often been mentioned, as a reproach to the clergymen of America, that with few exceptions, they are silent on the subject of slavery.

"This is not surprising, when we reflect that a leader of any kind, whether political or religious, represents the opinions of the body over whom he presides. No one with freedom of choice, would vote for a member of parliament whose opinions were opposed to his own: much less would he pay a man for preaching what he did not wish to hear—however conscientious the preacher might be. Of course, it follows, that if a congregation will not listen to anything about slavery, the minister must either be silent on that subject, or seek a congregation whose opinions are more in accordance with his own; and this, in some cases, is such a breaking up of social and family ties—to say nothing of pecuniary loss—that we cannot wonder if the former alternative is frequently preferred. This reflection must increase our admiration of those whose mental and moral nature, having outgrown their associations, have enough of courage and conscientiousness to come forward, and in the strength of their individuality declare the truth that is in them.

"Among these is the Rev. Theodore Parker, who, disclaimed by all the sects every Sunday morning preaches whatever he thinks right to crowded and admiring audiences. He is the Bourdaloue of Boston, telling the free and independent republicans of their faults, without the smallest reserve; but they do not receive his censure with quite so good a grace as the French monarch did that of the thunderer of *Notre Dame*.

"Clear and elevated in his views—firm and uncompromising in their expression,—he is born to influence his fellow men, and leave his 'foot-prints on the sands of time.'

Mrs. Finch also notes of the Boston clergy that they resemble the Catholic clergy in a more familiar intercourse with parishioners, thus bringing Religion and Life into nearer relations:—

"There is one very pleasant characteristic of an American clergyman—he belongs to his congregation. However wise and good he may be, he is not a mere moral and intellectual abstraction but lives, and moves, and has his being among his people. This influences his preaching, rendering his style perhaps more familiar, and permitting him to introduce subjects that some might think inappropriate. If the pulpit loses anything in dignity, it gains very much in interest by the introduction of incidents as they occur in the surrounding life, frequently elevating ordinary circumstances, and 'setting life's trite things to music,' by passing them through a cultivated and elevated mind."

One of the most interesting portions of this volume is that devoted to

"\* \* A stove is always placed in each carriage.

the "woman's movement" in America, a subject so open to facile ridicule that one must not be surprised if small jesters seize upon it; but a subject which all thinking persons must admit to be of very considerable importance. Mrs. Finch gives curious information of the state of things in this direction.

The small wits and small divines are, of course, hilarious and demagogic on such an anarchical tendency as that of educating women in the graver learning of men; but Mrs. Finch answers with a sarcasm:—

"In a paper edited by one of them, a leading divine of New York, in replying to a correspondent, he strenuously opposes woman taking part in anything public, overwhelming all opposition with this astounding climax:—'Place woman unbonneted and unshawled before the public gaze, and what becomes of her modesty and virtue?' *What, indeed, if it be all in her bonnet and shawl?*'"

Her experience of the female orators of the convention was by no means such as to make her shrink from the movement as unfeminine:—

"I received many fancy sketches of those monstrous women who met at Worcester to talk about their rights and wrongs. In spite of myself, I found their president (Mrs. Paulina Davis) fixed in my mind as a coarse, masculine, overbearing, disagreeable person, with a dirty house, a neglected family, and a hump-backed husband. Being unexpectedly introduced to her, I was as much puzzled as we are told Napoleon was, when he had to deal with an honest man,—for any other kind he was prepared; *I was prepared* for anything monstrous, but to find Mrs. Davis, a fair, delicate-looking woman, with gentle manners, and a low voice, which she uses sparingly, completely set at nought all my pre-conceived notions. I afterwards visited her at her home, near Providence, where I remained with her several days. Here again my fancy portrait was all wrong;—I found her a deeply-loved and most affectionate wife, an excellent housekeeper, and an indefatigable needle-woman. Had I not witnessed her home-virtues, I confess myself sufficiently prejudiced to have overlooked her public services. But having satisfied myself that she was regular in her devotions at the altar of the household gods, I felt at liberty to admire the clear intelligence by which she saw the bearings of this woman's movement, and deeply respected the courage and generosity that induced her to throw herself into it, and incur the responsibility and odium of leadership, during its infancy and unpopularity."

Of Mrs. Davis we hear:—

"It happened that in the course of her reading she had met with Comte's *Constitution of Man*, a book which not only added to her love of the study of physiology, but strongly impressed her with a sense of its importance, especially to women, who, generally speaking, know so little about it. With this conviction she determined to educate herself for a lecturer on the subject.

"Accordingly she proceeded to New York, and now it was that she realized all the difficulties and annoyances that were thrown in her path merely on account of her sex. Colleges were closed against her, books and apparatus were denied her, professors could not receive her with their pupils; however, she persevered, sometimes stealing her knowledge by inducing doormen and librarians to allow her to lock herself up with the manikins, skeletons, books, and other treasures entrusted to their keeping. At other times receiving her lessons at five o'clock in the morning, that she might not interfere with the students of the more privileged sex.

"After passing through this, she had to go through another ordeal, to establish herself as a lecturer. In this also she succeeded, as well as in making it remunerative.

"After several years spent in this way, in which she says she learnt more than she could have done in a century from her former mode of life, she met with her present husband, a most worthy man, of whose intelligence and liberality it is superfluous to speak, since it is sufficiently proved by his choosing her for a wife, and their mutual attachment."

And of others:—

"Subsequently I became acquainted with many of both sexes connected with this movement. I found they varied in circumstances, education, religion, and even in politics, but all united in an earnest protest against slavery in every form, whether of sex or colour, direct or indirect. They were earnest, intelligent, deep-thinking men and women, and the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at their last convention, contained in a report now lying before me, corroborate this statement.

"They do not advocate the *equality* of the sexes, neither do they desire them to be *like*. All they claim is, that both sexes should have the same chances of development, and not base artificial distinctions on *assumed* differences.

"They maintain that every faculty bestowed by the Creator brings with it a right to be used, whether it belongs to man or woman; that no circumstances can create faculties not originally given by God, but that circumstances are necessary to their development; for instance, light will not enable the blind man to see, but by withdrawing it from the man who can see, his eyes are useless to him, and he becomes as helpless as the blind man. So by excluding woman from the light of knowledge, she is in many things like one who cannot see.

"For this reason they demand for both sexes the same advantages in education, the same choice of employments, and the same power in choosing their law-makers and governors.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Thanks to the woman's movement, some half-dozen medical colleges are now open to women, and two schools of design are established, one in Boston, the other in Philadelphia. About a hundred women in each are studying drawing, designing, wood-engraving, and lithographing, with great success.

Physiological societies are also instituted in several places.

"But these women complain at having 'to receive this miserable pittance as an act of grace,' (I use the words of their president,) 'while millions of money, and a large body of the most learned and talented men in the country are devoted to the development of the masculine mind, in all directions that can give it strength and brightness, and win for it honour and wealth.' The women are refused a share in these advantages, on account of their sex, though this does not prevent their being taxed to support them."

## LIFE BY THE FIRESIDE.

*Life by the Fireside.* By the Author of *Visiting my Relations*. Bentley. A HAPPY idea, pleasantly carried out. It is indeed by the Fireside that Life most simply and most variously displays its quieter aspects; and the authoress of *Visiting my Relations*, whose talent is that of quiet observation and reflection, has chosen a subject peculiarly fitted to her, in choos-

ing this panoramic view of many firesides. It is not a story she has given us; but a series of sketches, most of them evidently from the life. And interspersed are various conversations and reflections which betray a long experience, and a cultivated mind.

In this agreeable book the reader will not meet with much that is new, but with much that is very nicely written, so much so as to be "good as new." For example, the idea of the following is old enough, but how charmingly it is stated:—

"Life has its lessons adapted for all ages, and nature has her sweet solacings for the severity of those lessons. Gently, therefore, and gradually does she lead the young through the sorrowful maze of their own mistakes, showing to them, as they are strong enough to bear it, where and how they erred, and, if they are disposed to profit by the retrospect, making them the humbler and the better for their past follies."

Here is a remark the truth of which comes home to all our experience.

#### THE POWER OF SILENCE.

"You have always a hope of ameliorating, of persuading, or of doing, at least, something with the adversary who talks, even though he talks with fury; but he who opposes you with silence, makes use of a weapon which baffles you at every corner. You cannot tell what it is made of, nor where it will wound, nor whether it is intended to wound at all."

And this:—

#### MANAGING WOMEN.

"Sad it is, that almost all clever, active, managing women, fit to govern the universe on the side of economy and neatness, and turning household matters to the best account, are so apt to be irascible and hasty in respect to their temper."

One might suppose this irascibility of managing women (apart from physiological reasons) arose out of the constant opposition which must meet them when insisting upon doing what we are not accustomed to see them do; the imperious nature which makes them take command into their absolute hands, and which in men would be silently accepted, rouses unnecessary opposition on account of their sex. Whatever the reason, there is no disputing the fact.

The aspects of life sketched in these pages are—"A Family Fireside," "A Widower's Fireside," "Wedded Life," "Life in Sickness," "Life without a Fireside," "A Fireside in the Country," "Single Blessedness," with many incidental sketches of religion. And on the subject of Religion we must quote a little anecdote here recorded:—

"When Popery was prevalent in England, an old priest who was in the habit of saying 'mumpsimus,' instead of 'sumpsimus,' in his Latin prayers, being reminded of his error, refused to rectify it; alleging as a reason, that 'he hated all new-fangled ways.'"

Is not that like the Scotch Professor who for years refused to admit Davy's discovery of the metallic basis of soda and potash, and when forced at length to adopt it, declared it was the "discovery of one Davy—a verba troublesome fellow in chemistry!"

## The Arts.

### THE OPERA.

THE Opera opened on Saturday, but without any of the glad enthusiasm of first nights, without the success which promises a season of success! I am not sorry for this; it will put, let me hope, the directors on their mettle, and make them look to the real means of success. The opera was *Masaniello*, and never do I remember to have seen it more unsatisfactorily performed. To begin with orchestra and chorus: the one was noisy, the other unsteady. I know it is heresy to say a word against Costa, who certainly has a command over his orchestra which no other conductor can boast; but it is one thing to have absolute control, another thing to know what to do with your instruments. Now, Costa has, in my eyes, two enormous faults to set against his undeniable excellencies,—the faults, namely, of vulgarising movements by taking them too fast, and of sacrificing the singer to the orchestra, the music to its accompaniment. On Saturday these faults were painfully predominant.

Tamberlik, though always unapproachable, was not our Tamberlik. He had not recovered from the fatigues of his journey, and he ought not to have appeared. Formes sang through a speaking trumpet, as usual; but a British pit likes energy, and Formes is a favourite in spite of his faults. Madame Castellan, looking even prettier than ever, was what she always is—charming to one class, and perfectly insipid to another (I belong to the second class), the admirers, however, predominating. Rommi, the "useful Rommi," with *une très belle voix de ventre*, played *Borella*; and Soldi grated on our ears to his own entire satisfaction.

On Thursday, the ever young and ever charming *Barber of Seville* was produced, without Mario. I could not be there, because the new comedy claimed me; but *Le Chat Huant* flew screeching to my assistance, and what he says or sings shall here be given in a long parenthesis. \* \*

(I have little to say about the new light tenor who challenged our recollections of Mario. Signor Luchesi may be described as a respectable representative of a large family of small tenors, who are to be met with at obscure provincial theatres in Italy; who have worn out the thin reed of a voice on which they may have once piped, and whose method of vocalization has declined into a volubility (more or less ingenuous) of shrill, small barks, which you can neither attribute to the head nor to the chest of the singer, but partly to the teeth, and partly to the whiskers. The learned may call the style "Rossinian" ease, and legitimate Italian fluency, to distinguish it from the more savage howling of the modern school of robust tenors whom Verdi has created; but let me be permitted to doubt whether Rossini ever contemplated such an execution of the divine music he has attributed to *Almaviva*, as we were invited to applaud on Thursday evening.

It is impossible to rob such an air as "Ecco ridente il Cielo" of its delicious grace and alluring charm, especially when the accompaniments are played with delicacy and precision; Signor Luchesi did more towards

achieving that impossibility than you would suppose. And so throughout the opera, except that in the concerted pieces, where his voice was less distinguishable, he appeared to more advantage, and took his part with the ease and certainty of experience and cultivation. He acted the *Count* inoffensively, if not pleasantly; but he lacked the refinement and the distinction—in a word, the high-bred air of *Almaviva*. Now, were Covent Garden an Opera House of inferior pretensions, I should never have judged Signor Luchesi by so high a standard; but at the Royal Italian Opera, now the Opera, we have a right to demand only the best and freshest singers, and the most accomplished actors in parts consecrated to our memories by the most glorious traditions. We do not put up with "queer" upper notes, or "wear and tear," or "voices originally good." We go to hear the best singers that Europe can boast, in the glory and prime of their career.

Madame Bosio was the coldest, and most uninteresting, and impossible *Rosina* I ever beheld; not a glimpse of *Rosina*, I should say, from first to last; but a cold and well-trained prima donna, with a piercing soprano cleaving the air like a rocket, and resolutely cutting through all difficulties with a force and facility that extort applause, and leave the ear and heart unsatisfied. Here, again, was a rude disturbance of our fond memories of past *Rosinas*. Formes was *Basilio*, and he evidently revelled in the priestly cowl with malicious relish and rare unction. His make up was perfect; the oily Tartuffian simper, the appetizing jaw, the gloating chin, the sly rolling eye, the sneaky gesture, and shambling walk, the twiddling of the fat red fingers, and the folding of the beefy hands, with no sign of wristbands to relieve the dull black sleeves; all was studied *con amore*, and with that completeness which marks the prime artist. The *Basilio* of Formes is, therefore, worth going to see, and it need not be said that he sings his noble music in a very superior style. There are fewer opportunities for bellowing than he usually finds, and fewer chances of bawling and gesticulating down everybody else upon the stage, so that Formes, by this very necessity of "keeping" and reposing, enables us to admire his fine qualities, without resenting his exorbitant pretensions. Singular enough, however, he did not produce all the effect in "La Calumnia," of which that immortal gem of musical painting is susceptible. I don't know why; perhaps he may yet make it his own. It may be that he sinned, as he commonly does, by an excess of effort, which always repels success. Tagliafico was really a very good and sufficient *Bartolo*. I confess I don't regret the venerable gag of Lablaeche, which has been immemorially accepted as humour. Tagliafico is the *Bartolo Beaumarchais* drew, and the effect produced is eminently satisfactory; it is a bit of acting unobtrusive, quiet, genuine, finished, without affectation, and without flaw, and sung with admirable correctness, certainly, and comfort. I say, comfort, to express the pleasant sense communicated to an audience by a singer who is sure of himself.

Middle Cotti was a very pleasant little *Bertha*; but what shall I say of him for whom I have reserved the last, not the least, place in this tirade? What shall I say of Ronconi, the *Figarissimo of Figaro*? I can give him no higher praise than in saying, that he was never more himself. In perfect voice and spirits: overflowing with mirth and mischief, and practical jokes, and subtle quirks; convulsing audience and actors too: driving Costa to despair with sallies of fun that bent the dignity of the *chef d'orchestre* double with suppressed laughter;—in a word, it was Ronconi, in the highest preservation, come back once more from St. Petersburg, laden with imperial trophies. How great an actor is Ronconi! How different from the flaccid buffoonery of the vulgar "comic business" are his wildest antics, that set the house in a roar. Mark the strength, the subtlety, the *mordant* of that mask of his; you could swear that behind that almost fierce smile there lurked the tragic possibilities of the "hate of hate, the scorn of scorn." It is pleasant to see Ronconi so heartily, so enthusiastically welcomed, now that he has taken his right position in England. It is to be hoped he will appear in some of his greatest parts this season. He is capable of making the fortune of a theatre alone, and London does not yet know half his powers.

The orchestra was, on the whole, almost as remarkable on this occasion for delicacy, as for force and precision; and the chorus, except, perhaps, in one passage, reminded me of those great days of the Royal Italian Opera in the first campaigns of the two Houses, which for too many reasons, I fear, we can only now recal by way of contrast. I did not stop for the ballet; and from what I hear, I have no need to apologize for that want of conscientiousness. I had seen *La Fille Mal Gardée* at a provincial theatre in France some ten years ago; and was not tempted to renew the experiment by the celebrities announced in the bill. But I may be allowed to congratulate my severer *confrères* in the critical world on having discovered the occasion (too seldom occurring) of safe expenditure of wit upon a certain M. *Petit*, who turned out to be anything but *petit* in dimensions. That, I believe, is the whole joke. I don't endorse it.

Let me not, as a loyal subject, omit to add, that the National Anthem was sung after the opera by Formes and Castellan, in honour of the "happy event." I am persuaded that foreigners who happened to hear the national air only last Saturday, will not fail to note in their next published "Impressions" of our manners and customs, that "God Save the Queen" is sung every night at the Royal Opera—all the audience standing up to join in chorus!

LE CHAT-HUANT.)

Thus hooteth my adjutant owl, ever ready, ever pleased to do a good action. Now let us turn to the

#### FRENCH PLAYS.

There is so much *amour propre* mingled with *amour*, that in this strange *égoïsme à deux*, named Love, every one finds it less painful to give up than to be given up. Horace has outgrown his liking for Julia, and thinks he really must break off; he pities her, poor thing! she will be terribly cut up, *désolée*; infinite compassion troubles him, and he devoutly wishes she didn't love him. He hesitates inflicting this pain: if she would only cast her eyes on some other amiable scapegrace, what a relief it would be! She does so. A rival is already in possession. Horace

in leaving her will leave her enchanted. You imagine Horace is in ecstacies when he hears it? *Oui dà!* Horace is furious! To be left, and by her, too! To be left, and for such a rival! Had it been any one else he could have borne it! And as he thinks of her now lost to him, all his former tenderness revives. What a smile she has, what a loving frankness! How happy he was by her side; how they sympathised! And to think of all this having passed away, like a novel that has been read, and cannot be read again!

"Ah! I remember well, and how can I  
But evermore remember well, when first  
Our flame began; when scarce we knew what was  
The flame we felt; when, as we sat and sighed,  
And looked upon each other; and conceived  
Not what we ailed, yet something we did ail;—  
And yet were well; and yet we were not well,  
And what was our disease we could not tell."

(It is an old poet I am quoting, one little read, now—Daniel; and the passage is from his *Hymen's Triumph*; might it not have been written yesterday?)

Horace remembers all this with painful distinctness, and is furious to think what the end has been; he would move heaven and earth to get her back, now that he has lost her. So, many things, besides love, are only precious when unattainable! It is an instinct of this which makes women coquettish.

The foregoing has, I dare say, irritated the impatient reader, who never *will* understand the subtle art of criticism, but always demands a plain, straightforward account of what a dramatic work is "all about," and is satisfied if told, "The plot is as follows: *The Chevalier* (M. Lafont) has for some years been the lover of *The Countess* (Mdlle. Page), who now," &c., &c. This sort of critical inventory is beyond my powers. I endeavour to place the subject before you in another manner, and only apply to the plot when necessary. Be pleased to understand, therefore, that in the foregoing bit of metaphysics you have read the subject of a pretty little comedy, *Les Extrêmes se Touchent*, played, on Monday, by Lafont and Mdlle. Page. Observe the subject, not the plot; for the piece is somewhat more superficial than the subject would lead you to expect. Mdlle. Page, our new "star," is unlike all who have gone before her, and plays with a delicacy of expression, and an elegance of "deportment," which pleasantly supply the place of depth and gaiety: having only seen her in two pieces, of which the tedious impossibility, *L'Image*, was one, I reserve judgment on her powers as an actress. This much, however, one can say of her, that she is elegant and charming; two qualities rare enough to be made much of.

#### ELOPEMENTS IN HIGH LIFE.

On Thursday Mr. Sullivan's new comedy was produced at the HAY-MARKET, unhappily without the success which would give a cheerful impulse to the new management.

We are in Timbuctoo. I will not guarantee the geography, but I assume the country to be Timbuctoo, because my knowledge of costume forbids the notion of any other country where a leader of fashion, a

D'Orsay upon town, could possibly attire himself as Barry Sullivan does in this comedy! Imagine a young man of fashion dressed in a plum-coloured frock coat, grey trousers strapped over cloth boots, round his neck a sky-blue scarf, with a gigantic fall fastened by a large brooch! And such a coat: such trousers! such scarf! Imagine a leader of *les* on a morning visit *leaving his hat in the hall*, taking the lady's hand in his gloved hand, and kissing it by way of "how d'y'e do!" This may be *couleur locale* in Timbuctoo, but is not, I am given to understand, a very correct representation of fashion elsewhere.

We suppose ourselves, therefore, in Timbuctoo. That is not the author's fault; but his fault is, that we have no picture of life sufficiently distinct to give his comedy "a local habitation." I am at a loss where the scenes take place. Not that I am particularly interested; for the scenes are so undramatic my curiosity will not be aroused. I see a young gentleman in difficulties, very unscrupulous, and very anxious to marry a fortune. I see three young women all anxious to be married. I see a portentous nobleman, rather stiff in the knees; and two club men, who may be sharers for aught I know. But who the people are, and what they want, some keen critic must tell. The scenes change; people talk, sometimes well enough, but seldom humorously; they make long explanations and go away again. After five acts of this, the curtain descends, and the comedy is announced "for repetition every evening."

Mr. Sullivan—the author I mean—knows, as well as I do, that his comedy is a mistake, and very wearisome to sit out; so that I will not analyze defects he has already noted. Let me rather praise him for the natural and charming character of "Catherine Simple," (very *naively* played by pretty Miss Louisa Howard,) a real dramatic type, and a novelty; let me also praise him for the unforced felicity of many passages of dialogue, and urge him to learn a lesson by this failure, and write a comedy full of life, character, and action.

Little can be said of the acting, for the actors had no chance. Buckstone and Compton played two small parts, not in the least comic; (the "make up" of Compton was a mistake.) Mrs. Fitzwilliam had nothing to do; Miss Reynolds was as agreeable as the part admitted, and Miss Howard I have already praised. Mr. Chippendale, whom I saw for the first time, brings with him a great reputation, but, unless he was paralyzed by the part, I fear no title of that reputation will be maintained in London. What Queen Elizabeth said of the poet PERSIUS, I must say of Mr. Chippendale—"dry as a crabstick!" He showed *none* of the qualities of a good actor. His delivery is monotonous, his face immovable, his gestures are not significant; all the qualities of old Farren—fineness, observation, detail and elegance of manner, are wanting in Mr. Chippendale. The sentence is severe, and may be revoked on some future occasion. I shall be but too happy to revoke it, if he will give me the opportunity.

There has been one other dramatic novelty this week—Phelps in *Justice Shallow*—of which very favourable reports reach me; and the *Strange History* has been abridged from nine chapters to eight, so that *Little Toddlekins* can be played after it. This matter of abridgment recalls to me a capital witticism: A bad poet asked MARTIAL to make the necessary erasures in the verses submitted to him; MARTIAL read the verses and said, *Una litura potest*—“one erasure will suffice!” Slingsby Laurence and Charles Mathews might think of this.

VIVIAN.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, April 8, 1853.

CONSIDERABLE depression in English Stock securities prevailed during the early part of the week. The announcement of the proposed financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer caused a brisk upward movement yesterday. The heavy Railway Stock improved in many lines 42 per share. Consols rose to 101, to-day they have receded to 100½ for the account. Spanish Securities are steady; Mexicans still with a strong upward tendency, from the belief that Santa Anna will be inclined to secure order in that Republic, and to do his utmost in meeting his engagements with the public creditors. If such be the fact—there is no doubt that we shall see Mexican Three-per-Cents. go as high as 37 or 38—the maximum of last year—and even perhaps higher. In Mines, Australian have been very languid throughout the week; and there seems on the part of the public a better feeling as regards Californian adventures. The leading Companies, *Aqua Isia*, *Anglo Californian*, and *Nouveau Monde*, speak confidently of returning dividends in all 1853. There has been a good deal of speculation in the various Copper Mines that are now before the public. Amongst others the Metalf Mine in Jamaica, of which there would seem to be extraordinary good accounts, commands a premium of 17½ to 18½ premium per share, and the widest predictions are hazarded with respect to it. According to some accounts, the *Burma Bull* will look small in comparison to this Mine—*sous verrou*. French Shares continue pretty firm—two of three new lines are above running out. The South Eastern of France are said to have been promised a concession, but it is also added that a fusion will ultimately take place with the Turin and Chambery line—a good measure for a leader in both lines. Strasburg, it is said, will divide 11 francs per share next May—and the line promises most hopefully. There seems some inclination to bring forward some Mining adventures in Spain, but people are nigh sick of Spain and everything connected with such fatigues braggadocios. Consols leave off 100½ to 4.

### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock .....	.....	.....	225	225	.....	.....
3 per Cent. Red. ....	.....	.....	99½	99½	99½	99½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans. ....	99½	100	100½	100½	100½	100½
Consols for Account. ....	.....	100	100½	100½	100½	100½
3½ per Cent. An. ....	125	.....	102½	103½	103½	103½
New 5 per Cent. ....	125	.....	102½	103½	103½	103½
Long Ans. 1860 .....	.....	6	6	6	6	6
India Stock .....	262	.....	262	262	262	262
Ditto Bonds, £1000 .....	43	43	43	43	43	43
Ditto, under £1000 .....	43	43	43	43	43	43
Ex. Bills, £1000 .....	10 p	7 p	7 p	10 p	10 p	9 p
Ditto, £500 .....	10 p	7 p	7 p	10 p	10 p	9 p
Ditto, Small .....	6 p	7 p	7 p	6 p	10 p	10 p

### FOREIGN FUNDS. (LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING FRIDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian New 4½ per Cts.	99½	Portuguese 4 per Cents.	40½
Chilian 3 per Cents. ....	82	Russian 1822 .....	118½
Danish 3 per Cents. ....	84½	Russian 4½ per Cents. ....	103½
Ecuador .....	6	Spanish 3 p. Cents. ....	48½
Mexican 3 per Cents. ....	27½	Spanish 3½ Cts. New Def. ....	25
Mexican 3 per Ct. Acc't. ....	27½	Turkish Loan, 6 per Cent.	.....
April 15 .....	27½	1852 .....	2½ pm.
Peruvian Bonds 4½ p. Cts.	89	Venezuela 3½ per Cents. ....	38½
Peruvian Scrip .....	44 pm.	Dutch 2½ per Cents. ....	66½
Portuguese 5 p. Ct. Conv.	184½	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. ....	97½

### French Plays.

S T. J A M E S'S T H E A T R E.

The Engagements of Madlle. PAGE, Monsieur LAFONT, Madlle. BEERTIN (of the Théâtre Français), Monsieur JULIAN, Monsieur ROLAND, and Mademoiselle LOREY (of the Théâtre du Gymnase), will be continued during the month of April.

The EXTRA NIGHT ON SATURDAY EVENINGS will be continued during the present Attraction, the Entertainments terminating at eleven o'clock.

On MONDAY NEXT, April 11, will be revived M. Bayard's popular Comedy of ANDRE. The principal character by Mons. LAFONT.

Madle. PAGE will appear on WEDNESDAY NEXT, April 13th, in Madame Acelot's Play of LOISA, produced on Friday with great success.

Boxes, 6s.; Pit, 3s.; Amphitheatre, 2s. Places may be secured in the Dress Circle or Amphitheatre Stalls, without extra charge for Booking.—Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Box Office of the Theatre, which is open daily from Eleven till Five o'clock.

A Morning Performance every Tuesday and Saturday, at Three o'clock.

A View of the celebrated Mer de Glace, from Montavans, has been added to the Illustrations.

Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

ON SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 10th, at Eleven o'clock, a LECTURE will be delivered at the Princess's Concert Room, Castle Street, Oxford Street, on ENGLAND THE CONQUEROR, by WILLIAM MACCALL, Author of "The Elements of Individualism."

Admittance, Sixpence.

ON ANIMAL FORMS the following COURSE OF LECTURES will be given in the LECTURE THEATRE, at MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, on the following Friday Evenings, at Seven o'clock, by Professor EDWARD FORBES, F.R.S., &c.

### DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART,

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE.

Lecture I. April 15th.—Variety and symmetry of animal forms.

Lecture II. April 22.—The Radiated Type.

Lecture III. April 29th.—The Molluscan or sub-symmetrical Type.

Lecture IV. May 6th.—Articulate Forms.

Lecture V. May 13th.—Animal of the highest or Vertebrate Type. A Series of Studies from the Life, by Mr. Muirhead, R.A., has been promised to be lent by him, in illustration of this Lecture.

May 20th. A Lecture—On the Relations of the different Branches of Industrial Art to each other and to Architecture, will be delivered by Professor SEMPER.

May 27th. An Introductory Lecture—On the Decoration of Woven Fabrics, by OCTAVIUS HUDSON, Esq.

Tickets for the Course of PROFESSOR FORBES's Lectures, 2s. 6d. each; and for Mr. SEMPER's and Mr. HUDSON's Lectures, 6d. each Lecture, to be had at Marlborough House, and at the Museum of Practical Science, Jermyn Street.

4th March, 1853.

HENRY COLE.

### DEPARTMENT OF ORNAMENTAL ART.

DIVISION OF ART.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL. The following SERIES OF LECTURES will be given in the LECTURE THEATRE, at MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, on the ensuing TUESDAY EVENINGS, at Eight o'clock, and WEDNESDAY MORNINGS, at Three o'clock, on the HISTORY OF ORNAMENTAL ART, by R. N. WORNUM, Esq., Lecturer on Ornament.

### SPRING COURSE—ANCIENT ART.

I. April 19 and 20.—On the Decorative Art of the Ancient Egyptians.

II. April 26 and 27.—Egypt—Ornamental Details.

III. May 3 and 4.—Asia.

IV. May 10 and 11.—Greece—Heroic Age of Greek Art.

V. May 17 and 18.—Greece—The Doric Period—Ornamental Elements—The Greek Orders.

VI. May 24 and 25.—Greece—Period of Alexander—Asiatic Influence—The Decline.

VII. May 31 and June 1.—Rome—Florid Development of Greek Art under the Romans.

VIII. June 7 and 8.—Roman Decoration—Final Decline.

Tickets for the Evening Course of Eight Lectures, at 5s. each, and for Single Lectures of the Course at 1s. each; Tickets for the Morning Course at 7s. 6d. each, or for a Single Lecture at 2s. each, to be had at the Department of Science and Art, Marlborough House, Pall Mall. Tickets for Registered Students of the Department, 3s. 6d. each for either Course.

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#### THE COMMITTEE OF THE TESTIMONIAL

From the friends of Free Thought, to constitute a Presentation to Mr. G. JACOB HOLYOAKE, have forwarded List-papers to the provinces, in compliance with many requests, and further applications are to be addressed to the "Secretary of the Testimonial Committee, 23, John Street, Fitzroy Square, London." The communications received by the Committee have, in variety and cordiality, exceeded their anticipation, and they have fixed on the Whitsun week in which to hold the public Presentation, so that provincial friends visiting London may have an opportunity of being present.

Friends wishing to be present at the Presentation will communicate as far as possible with the Secretary by the 22nd inst., the assembly rooms may be selected large enough to accommodate all.

All List-papers to be returned not later than the 30th of April instant.

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